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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 7, JULY 1986

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29 OCTOBER 1986

# SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

### TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 7, JULY 1986

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## LET US TURN OUR GRIEF INTO REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 1-4

[Editorial]

[Text] Le Duan, general secretary of our party's central committee, is no longer with us!

The heart of this staunch communist militant stopped beating at 0330 hours on 10 July 1986.

To our party, our army, our people, this was a truly enormous loss.

The life of Le Duan was a shining example of sacrifice and struggle for national independence and socialism, for communist ideals. In his nearly 60 years of revolutionary activity, he devoted his life to the cause of liberating the nation, reunifying the fatherland and advancing the entire country to socialism.

Awakened by the revolution at an early date, Le Duan was among the first to follow Nguyen Ai Quoc's "Revolutionary Road," to follow the path of national salvation based on Marxism-Leninism, the path of combining the national revolution and the social revolution. With firm confidence in the bright future of the nation and mankind, he fought tenaciously and bravely, fought the enemy face to face, undaunted by their torture and never fearing imprisonment, giving his all to the cause of liberating the fatherland, the laboring people. In the face of bitter challenges, he displayed boundless loyalty to the party, the fatherland and the people. An outstanding student of President Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan was a distinguished leader of our party and people, a staunch militant of the international communist and worker movement, of the national independence movement.

The revolutionary activities of Le Duan were closely associated with the revolutionary processes carried out by our people under the leadership of our party, the party founded and forged by President Ho Chi Minh. From the very day our party was founded, he not only waged a determined struggle against imperialism and feudalism, but also struggled tirelessly against the political line of the bourgeoisie and opportunist tendencies to establish the role of the working class and the communist party as the leader of our country's

revolution. He was one of the founders of the Democratic Front (1936-1939) and led this front. He was one of the persons who proposed a shift in the direction of the party's political line when World War II began (1939-1940).

In the resistance against France (1946-1954), at the direction of President Ho Chi Minh and the Party Central Committee, Le Duan led the party organization of the South in organizing the war of resistance in Nam Bo and carrying out the agrarian revolution in liberated areas.

Following the signing of the Geneva Agreement, he remained in the South to lead the revolutionary movement. Working under exceedingly difficult and dangerous circumstances, he lived among the masses and travelled from remote rural areas to industrial centers and cities to propagandize, mobilize and organize the masses and maintain the fight against the imperialists and their lackeys. Le Duan's presence in the South during those very difficult years and months was a great source of inspiration to the compatriots of the South and strengthened their confidence in the leadership of the party and President Ho, in the bright future of the nation. Trusted and protected by the masses, he led the party organization of the South in restoring the organization system destroyed by the enemy, strengthening and developing the revolution's base and preparing for the fight against the U.S. imperialists.

In 1957, in keeping with a decision by the Party Central Committee, Le Duan moved to the North to lead the common work of the party beside President Ho.

In the resistance against the United States, Le Duan was the person who organized the implementation of the line of the party and President Ho on resisting the United States for national salvation. Following President Ho's death, Le Duan became the soul of the people's fight against the U.S. aggressors. He led the entire party, all our armed forces and all our people in successfully carrying out the sacred testament of President Ho and advancing the resistance against the United States for national salvation to total victory.

In the fight against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, Le Duan led our party, armed forces and people in displaying a high spirit of vigilance, maintaining combat readiness, fighting bravely and defeating the aggression by the Chinese reactionaries and their lackeys on the northern border and the southwestern border, thereby firmly defending the Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

Under the banner of the great President Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan and the other leaders of the party led our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people in waging a steadfast, brave fight and winning exceedingly large victories: liberating the country, reunifying the fatherland, advancing the entire country toward socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland.

As regards the building of the country, under the leadership of our party headed by Le Duan, our people recorded important achievements in restoring, transforming and developing the economy and carrying out cultural development in the direction of socialism.

On the international front, Le Duan made large contributions in strengthening our solidarity and cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union, building the special alliance with Laos and Cambodia, uniting and cooperating with the other fraternal countries and parties and supporting the struggle by the people of all countries against the imperialists and reactionaries and for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

A strategist with foresight and breadth of vision, Le Duan made large contributions to mapping out the revolutionary line of our party in the national, democratic revolution as well as the socialist revolution. The reports presented by him at the 3rd, 4th and 5th Congresses of the Party set the line on the socialist revolution of our country, a former colony of imperialism, a country in which small-scale production predominates, a country that is advancing to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. He also defined the relationship between socialist construction in one-half of the country and the completion of the national democratic revolution nationwide, between socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. He made large contributions in solving the problems related to our country making the transition to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

A revolutionary theorist, he creatively applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam and developed upon the revolutionary thinking of President Ho Chi Minh. He advanced the theoretical arguments on collective ownership; on the three revolutions; on building the new system, building the new economy, establishing the new culture and molding the new, socialist man; on the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages"; on the party when in power; on the advance from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production; on building the local economy; on building the district level...

He enriched the thinking of President Ho and our party concerning revolutionary method and revolutionary war with his arguments on the thinking of an offensive strategy; on combining the political struggle and the armed struggle; on combining a general offensive and general uprising; on the two feet and three spearheads; on the three forms of close range combat; on the three strategic zones; on local coordinated uprisings and guerrilla war; on the local people's war; on position, forces and opportunity; on the need for lightning-like speed and boldness and on time being a force; on the local people's war, the war of liberation and the war to defend the fatherland...

From an international perspective, he advanced the arguments on the offensive position of the revolution in the world; on the awakening of nations; on peace, national independence, democracy and socialism being one...

Tempered in the long revolutionary struggle, he displayed the fine qualities of the communist militant: a tenacious and unyielding spirit in the fight against national and class enemies; unquestioned loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the cause of liberating the fatherland and the people, to the ideals of communism; a high sense of organization, discipline and responsibility; completing each assigned task; being close to the masses; being deeply interested in man; profound humanism; modesty, simplicity... Having spent

decades toiling among the masses, having lived, worked and fought alongside the masses, Le Duan had a close relationship with the masses. He understood their thinking and aspirations. He had firm confidence in and deep feelings for the masses.

Le Duan attached special importance to the role played by the human factor in the cause of revolution. He was, therefore, concerned about molding the new man. He introduced "labor-love-reason" as the guideline for molding the new, socialist Vietnamese.

A creative Marxist-Leninist who possessed high fighting spirit, Le Duan made valuable contributions to building the storehouse of Vietnamese revolutionary theory.

Le Duan's nearly 60 years of practical and theoretical activities were an enormous contribution to the revolutionary cause of our party and our people.

Le Duan is no longer with us! But his glorious cause will live on forever in our party and our people.

As we mourn Le Duan's passing, let us remember and follow his advice.

While he was alive, he often advised us: the party is the factor determining each victory of the revolution; therefore, attention must be given to building the party so that unity and consensus within the party are constantly strengthened.

Le Duan advised us to implement the right of ownership of the people. For the state to be independent, the people must become the masters of the country. Respecting and upholding the people's right of ownership in the fields of politics, economics, culture and society are the obligation of we communists.

He advised us: our country is independent but aggressors are threatening our independence. We must heighten our vigilance, always be in a state of combat readiness and fight aggressors, most importantly the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, well in order to firmly defend the Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

He also advised that we must concern ourselves with transforming and developing the economy, with carrying out cultural development in order to build a prosperous fatherland and improve the life of the people. He advised us to attach importance to building the local economy, building the district level and building the district agro-industrial economic structure.

He advised us to always cultivate and build international solidarity, maintain a strategic alliance and cooperate in every field with the Soviet Union, strengthen our special militant solidarity with Laos and Cambodia, unite and cooperate with the other fraternal countries and do our best to help strengthen the three revolutionary currents of our times for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

We will always remember and follow these words of advice of Le Duan.

As we mourn Le Duan's passing, let us turn the grief we feel into revolutionary actions, strengthen our unity around the Party Central Committee and make every effort to successfully build socialism and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Following Le Duan's example, let each of our cadres and party members work, study and train hard and make every effort to cultivate better revolutionary qualities and skills and complete each assigned task well. Let each of us redouble our efforts to emulate one another in accelerating production and practicing frugality, in maintaining combat readiness and fighting well, in winning new victories for our country's revolutionary cause. Let our entire party, all our armed forces and all our people make good preparations for the party's 6th Congress.

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CSO: 4210/12

COMMUNIQUE ON THE DEATH OF LE DUAN, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPV CENTRAL COMMITTEE, ISSUED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE COUNCIL OF STATE, THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE PRESIDUM OF THE VFF CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 p 5, 6

[Text] The CPV Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the VFF Central Committee are boundlessly grieved to announce that Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, passed away at 0330 on 10 July 1986 [2030 GMT on 9 July] after a period of serious illness. He was 79.

During Comrade Le Duan's serious illness, our party and state cared for him, sending a contingent of competent professors and doctors with adequate facilities to wholeheartedly treat him. But Comrade Le Duan, in advanced age and seriously ill, has departed from us.

During the nearly 60 years of his revolutionary activities, his absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the interests of the fatherland and the people, Comrade Le Duan devoted his entire life to national liberation and reunification, and to advancing our entire country toward socialism.

A prominent disciple of President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan was an eminent leader of our party and people, and a stalwart combatant of the international communist movement, the workers' movement and the national independence movement.

Comrade Le Duan's passing away is a great loss to our party and people. To show their remembrance of and gratitude to Comrade Le Duan, a joint meeting of the SRV CPV Central Committee, National Assembly, Council of State, Council of Ministers and Presidium of the VFF Central Committee have decided:

1. To organize national funerals for him with solemn rites of our country;
2. To have our entire party, people and Army mourn for Comrade Le Duan for 5 days, from 11 July to 15 July 1986.

During these grievous days, the CPV Central Committee, National Assembly, Council of State, Council of Ministers of the SRV and Presidium of the VFF

Central Committee call on our entire party, people and Army to translate grief into revolutionary actions, strengthen solidarity and singlemindedness around the Party Central Committee and devote all of their spirit and force to successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Emulating Comrade Le Duan, let all cadres and party members develop their role as exemplary vanguards; endeavor in their work, study and training; unceasingly enhance their revolutionary qualities and capabilities; and accomplish well all of their duties. Let our entire party make the best preparations for the 6th CPV Congress. Let our entire people and Army whip up a seething revolutionary movement, promote production, practice thrift, stand ready to fight and fight well and make worthy contributions to advancing our country's revolutionary undertaking to new successes. Let us commemorate Comrade Le Duan with practical revolutionary actions.

Hanoi, 10 July 1986

The CPV Central Committee, the SRV  
National Assembly, The SRV Council of  
State, the SRV Council of Ministers and  
the Presidium of the VFF Central  
Committee

CSO: 4210/12



#### STATE FUNERAL COMMITTEE LISTED

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 7, 8

[Text] 1. Truong Chinh, Political Bureau member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and president of the State Council of the SRV. [Hanoi VNA in English at 1624 GMT on 10 July also identifies Truong Chinh as: "head of the state funeral committee."]

2. Pham Van Dong, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the SRV.

3. Pham Hung, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers.

4. Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee.

5. General Van Tien Dung, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and minister of national defense.

6. Vo Chi Cong, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and vice president of the State Council.

7. Chu Huy Man, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and vice president of the State Council.

8. To Huu, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee.

9. Nguyen Van Linh, Political Bureau member and secretary of the CPV Central Committee.

10. Vo Van Kiet, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers.

11. Do Muoi, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers.

12. Nguyen Duc Tam, Political Bureau member and secretary of the CPV Central Committee and head of its organizing committee.

13. Le Duc Anh, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee and deputy minister of national defense.

14. Nguyen Co Thach, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPV Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs.

15. Dong Si Nguyen, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPV Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers.

16. Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the National Assembly and vice president of the State Council.

17. Huynh Tan Phat, vice president of the State Council and president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

18. Nguyen Xien, general secretary of the Vietnam Socialist Party and vice chairman of the National Assembly.

19. Nghiem Xuan Yem, general secretary of the Vietnam Democratic Party and vice chairman of the National Assembly.

20. Hoang Truong Minh, member of the CPV Central Committee, head of the Nationalities Commission of the Party Central Committee and president of the Nationalities Council.

21. Nguyen Thi Dinh, member of the CPV Central Committee and president of the Vietnam Women's Union.

22. Pham The Duyet, alternate member of the CPV Central Committee and acting president of the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions.

23. Vu Mao, member of the CPV Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union.

24. The Reverend Vo Thanh Trinh, president of the Committee for Solidarity of Patriotic Vietnamese Catholics and vice chairman of the National Assembly.

25. The most venerable Thich Duc Nhuan, head of the Sangha Council and the Vietnam Buddhist Church.

CSO: 4210/12

## BIOGRAPHY OF LE DUAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 9-11

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Comrade Le Duan was born on 7 April 1907 at Hau Kien Village, Trieu Thanh commune, Trieu Phong District, Quang Tri Province (now Binh Tri Thien Province). Born into a family of working people with a tradition of patriotism he was early awakened to the revolutionary cause.

Comrade Le Duan was among the first generation to respond to the appeal of Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (President Ho Chi Minh) to follow the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism. He joined the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association in 1928 and in 1930 became one of the first members of the Indochinese Communist Party. In 1931 he was a member of the Propaganda and Training Commission of the Regional Party Committee for Tonkin (North Vietnam) and the same year he was arrested in Haiphong by the French colonialists, sentenced to 20 (twenty) years of imprisonment and was detained in the prisons of Hanoi, Son La and Con Dao (Poulo Condor).

In these prisons, together with other members of the communist party he led the struggles against the harsh prison regime and organized political studies among the prisoners.

In 1936, due to the struggle of the Vietnamese people and the success of the Popular Front in France, the colonial administration in Indochina was forced to release many Vietnamese revolutionaries including Le Duan. Immediately after his release, Le Duan engaged in active revolutionary activities in the central Vietnam provinces, implemented the Party Central Committee's decision to found the Indochinese Democratic Front aimed at mobilizing and rallying the masses for the struggle against the colonial reactionaries and against the fascist and war danger. In 1937 Le Duan was appointed secretary of the Regional Party Committee for Central Vietnam and from then to 1939 his activities made an important contribution to taking the revolution to a high tide throughout the country.

In 1939 Le Duan was appointed to the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee and later that year together with Nguyen Van Cu, secretary general of the party, he chaired the 6th Plenary Meeting of the Party Central

Committee which decided to found the Indochinese Anti-imperialist Front in replacement of the Democratic Front, switching the revolutionary struggle to a new period.

In 1940, he was again arrested, this time in Saigon, and was given 10 years imprisonment and deported to Con Dao (Poulo Condor) for the second time until the success of the August Revolution in 1945 when he was welcomed back to the mainland by the party and government and joined the resistance in the South.

In 1946 he went to Hanoi and worked beside President Ho Chi Minh, contributing together with the Party Central Committee to preparing for the anti-French war of resistance. Later that year he was assigned by President Ho and the Party Central Committee to lead the resistance in the South. At the 2nd National Congress of the Party in 1951 he was elected to the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. From 1946 to 1954 in his position as secretary of the Regional Party Committee for South Vietnam, then secretary of the Party Central Commission for the South, he led the southern party organization in organizing the resistance in the South and carrying out the land reform in the liberated zones.

From 1954 to 1957, following the Geneva Agreement, Le Duan stayed back in the South to lead the revolutionary movement. During those extremely difficult years he lived among the people and under their protection, operating in remote rural areas and in urban centers to consolidate the revolutionary bases in preparation for the fight against the American interventionists.

In 1957 the Party Central Committee appointed him to lead the general affairs of the party beside President Ho Chi Minh. In 1960, at the 3rd National Congress of the Party, on behalf of the Central Committee Le Duan presented the Political Report in which he pointed out the two strategic tasks of the revolution, i.e. carrying out the socialist revolution in the North and completing the national people's democratic revolution in the South, combining the revolution in both zones with a view to completing national liberation and achieving national reunification. At this congress, he was again elected to the Central Committee and to the Political Bureau and named to the post of first secretary of the party and secretary of the Central Party Commission for the Vietnam People's Army.

Throughout the 15 years at these posts, in the conditions of the country experiencing extremely serious trial and in a very complicated development of the international situation, Le Duan together with the Political Bureau and the Central Committee persisted in the line of independence and sovereignty while enlisting international aid, assistance and solidarity, clearsightedly leading the people and the revolutionary armed forces throughout the country to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, liberate the South, reunify the country and take the whole country in the advance to socialism.

At the 4th National Congress of the Party in 1976 and the 5th National Congress in 1982 Le Duan was again elected to the Central Committee and the Political Bureau and was made general secretary.

At the 4th Party Congress, the Political Report of the Party Central Committee presented by Le Duan summed up the victory of the anti-U.S. resistance and laid down the general line of the socialist revolution in the country.

At the 5th National Congress of the Party, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, Le Duan presented the Political Report, pointing to the two strategic tasks, i.e. successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland, at the same time laying down the economic strategy in the first stage of the transitional period.

For more than 10 years now, uniting around the Central Committee led by Le Duan, the Vietnamese people and army have fought courageously and won victories in two wars of national defense against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their agents on the southwestern and northern borders, and achieved important successes in the economic rehabilitation, transformation and development and cultural development along the socialist line.

An excellent and close disciple of beloved Comrade Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan was an eminent leader of the party and a creative and imaginative theoretician endowed with valuable virtues, especially his profound humanism, simple manners and modesty. In his international activities Le Duan made an important contribution to building and consolidating the special solidarity among Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; consolidating and developing Vietnam's all-round cooperation and fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community; steadfastly struggling to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism; and strengthening the militant solidarity within the international communist and workers' movement and the national liberation movement.

Le Duan was a deputy to the National Assembly from the 2nd to the present 7th Legislature.

In view of his great contributions, the party and state have awarded him the Sao Vang (Gold Star) Order. Many fraternal countries like the Soviet Union, Laos, Cambodia, Poland, Bulgaria, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia and Czechoslovakia have also conferred many high distinctions on him. The international Lenin Prize Committee has conferred on him the prize "for the consolidation of peace among nations."

CSO: 4210/12

EULOGY DELIVERED BY GENERAL SECRETARY TRUONG CHINH AT THE FUNERAL CEREMONY FOR  
GENERAL SECRETARY LE DUAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 12-14

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee--an outstanding leader of the party and a loyal son of the people--has left us forever. This is a great loss for our entire party and people.

A member of the party's vanguard and a talented pupil of respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan devoted his entire life to the liberation of the nation and the reunification of the fatherland, to the freedom and happiness of the people and to the ideals of communism.

His active life over the past nearly 60 years was closely linked with the development of the revolution in our country from the 1920's to the 1980's. He participated in activities in all parts of the country--north, central and south--and dealt with all kinds of challenges and difficulties, always staying in close contact with cadres, soldiers and the working people.

In the late 1930's until his death, he was an important leader of the party; and beginning in 1960, as first secretary and then general secretary of the Party Central Committee, he made major contributions to the party's leadership, advancing our people's revolutionary undertaking from one victory to another. His unconventional ideals and goals were for national independence and reunification and the people's right to mastery over the country, society and their own lives.

As a genuine Marxist-Leninist, he always thought about the actual situation and analyzed and resolved new problems arising from life. His clearheadedness was strikingly reflected at the turning points of history and in complicated circumstances. His confidence remained very firm in the face of successes as well as temporary setbacks for the revolution--during its rising tide as well as its ebbing tide. During the dark years under the neo-colonial system of the U.S. imperialists in the South, he had a clear vision of the possibility of the people winning victory through the masses' concerted uprising.

Together with the Political Bureau and the Party Central Committee led by the great President Ho Chi Minh, he defined the lines and policies for the wars of resistance for national liberation and defense, developed the Vietnamese revolutionary military science, defeated the wars of aggression by imperialism and other international reactionary forces, and vigorously promoted the world people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism for independence and freedom.

Since the total liberation of the South and the reunification of the fatherland that allowed for the entire country to advance toward socialism, he helped clarify many theoretical and practical issues with a view to defining and perfecting the line of the socialist revolution in our country in order to enable it--a backward agricultural country--to advance directly to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development.

Upholding the banner of national independence and socialism, he persistently observed the principle of combining the strength of the nation with the strength of our times and domestic strength with international strength to carry out the two strategic tasks of building and defending the fatherland.

Comrade Le Duan's contributions to the revolutionary cause of our party and people are truly great.

Through his long service and great activities, Comrade Le Duan has set a valuable example for the Vietnamese people, especially the communists, of boundless faithfulness to the noble interests of the fatherland and the people and the lofty communist ideology. His noble revolutionary ethics gave rise to his consistent spirit of revolutionary offensive. Faced with ordeals in imperialist prisons, prolonged hardship in various war zones and difficulties during years of activities in areas temporarily controlled by the enemy, Comrade Le Duan always maintained his staunch energy, showed his readiness to sacrifice his life for the fatherland's independence and freedom and the people's happiness.

Comrade Le Duan led a faithful and simple life, staying close to the people and showing his warm love and sincerity for everyone. He always listened to the people's ideas and paid attention to their aspirations. He valued highly the people's experiences in order to formulate positions and policies based on these valuable experiences.

Comrade Le Duan was a great compatriot and a genuine international communist. Throughout his life he followed the example of President Ho Chi Minh, paying attention and contributing to consolidating and strengthening international solidarity between revolutionary and progressive forces in the world in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Following the path of the great Lenin and the October Revolution, he consistently tried to foster and strengthen the special friendship, militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and develop a special alliance between Vietnam and fraternal Laos and Cambodia and with other countries of the socialist community. He consistently paid attention to and studied international revolutionary experiences and kept himself well informed of international developments.

Comrade Le Duan has left us for good, but his memory will live forever in our party's and people's revolutionary cause. The history of our country will forever confirm his great service and outstanding contributions. His examples will help light the way for us forever.

Dear respected and beloved Comrade Le Duan, we respectfully bow down to bid our last farewell to you and share the grief of your family. We pledge to do our best to strengthen unity and singlemindedness within the entire party, people and army around the Party Central Committee and the Political Bureau, strive to overcome the immediate difficulties, stabilize the situation in all respects, care for the people's life, develop the working people's right to collective mastery, step up the three revolutions, carry out socialist industrialization and realize the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland of Vietnam with a view to leading our people's glorious revolutionary cause to final victory.

CSO: 4210/12



NOTICE ISSUED BY SPECIAL PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 p 15

[Text] On 14 July 1986, the Central Committee of the CPV held a special meeting to elect the general secretary to replace the just deceased Comrade Le Duan. Amid a solemn and emotional atmosphere, the conferees observed a minute of silence in commemoration of Comrade General Secretary Le Duan, an eminent leader of our party and people. The conferees observed a minute of silence in commemoration of Comrade Hoang Van Thai, member of the Party Central Committee, general and deputy defense minister.

On behalf of the Political Bureau, Comrade Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau, introduced Comrade Truong Chinh as general secretary. The Central Committee meeting unanimously elected Comrade Truong Chinh as general secretary of the CPV Central Committee.

In his speech at the meeting, Comrade Truong Chinh expressed thanks for the trust of the Party Central Committee and called on the entire party, people and army to strengthen their solidarity and singlemindedness around the Party Central Committee to insure successful implementation of the important and urgent tasks for the immediate future and to continuously advance our country's revolutionary undertaking toward new successes.

CSO: 4210/12

## SUMMARY BIOGRAPHY OF TRUONG CHINH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 16-17

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Truong Chinh, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, was born on 9 February 1907.

He was born in Hanh Thien Village in Xuan Truong District, Nam Dinh Province, present day Xuan Hong Village in Xuan Thuy District, Ha Nam Ninh Province.

In 1925, he took part in the movement demanding that the French imperialists grant amnesty to the patriot Phan Boi Chau and, in 1926, was one of the leaders of the student boycott staged to commemorate the death of the patriot Phan Chu Trinh in Nam Dinh. Following this boycott, Truong Chinh was expelled from school.

In 1927, he joined the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, a forerunner of the Indochinese Communist Party.

In 1929, he participated in the campaign in Tonkin to establish the Indochinese Communist Party.

In 1930, he was appointed to the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party. Late that year, he was arrested by the imperialists, sentenced to 12 years in prison and exiled to Son La.

In late 1936, as a result of the victory of the French Popular Front and the struggle by the people of Vietnam for democratic freedoms and the release of political prisoners, he regained his freedom.

From late 1936 to 1939, he conducted lawful and quasi-lawful activities in Hanoi as a member of the Tonkin Regional Party Committee and representative of the Indochinese Communist Party on the Tonkin Democratic Front Committee. When World War II broke out, he immediately shifted to unlawful activities.

In 1940, he became editor of LIBERATION Newspaper, the organ of the Tonkin Regional Party Committee. At the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party, he was appointed to the Party Central Committee.

In 1941, at the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, he was elected general secretary of the Party Central Committee, member of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, head of the Propaganda and Training Department and editor of LIBERATION FLAG Newspaper (the organ of the Party Central Committee) and COMMUNIST REVIEW (the political and theoretical organ of the party) and of the Civilian Proselyting Department of the Party Central Committee.

In 1943, he was convicted by the military court of the French colonialists in Hanoi and sentenced to death in absentia.

In 1945, he was in charge of the National Uprising Committee established by the Party Central Committee.

In 1951, at the 2nd Congress of the Party, he was reappointed to the Party Central Committee as general secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. (At this congress, the Indochinese Communist Party changed its name to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party).

In 1953, he served as the head of the Agrarian Reform Department of the Party Central Committee.

In 1958, he served as deputy premier and head of the State Science Commission.

In 1960, at the 3rd Congress of the Party, he was reappointed to the Party Central Committee and appointed as a member of the Political Bureau, taking charge of National Assembly work.

In 1976, at the 4th Congress of the Party, he was reappointed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam (at that congress, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party changed its name to the Communist Party of Vietnam). He was a member of the Political Bureau, in charge of the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee and the Theory Department of the Party Central Committee.

In 1976, he was elected chairman of the Committee for the Drafting of the Constitution of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

He was a deputy to the 2nd National Assembly (1960-1964), the 3rd National Assembly (1964-1971), the 4th National Assembly (1971-1975), the 5th National Assembly (1975-1976), the 6th National Assembly (1976-1981) and the 7th National Assembly (1981-...). From the 2nd to the 6th National Assembly, he served as chairman of the Standing Committees of the National Assembly.

In 1981, he was elected chairman of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam by the National Assembly.

In 1982, at the 5th Congress of the Party, he was reappointed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and as a member of the Political Bureau.

On 14 July 1986, a special plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam elected him general secretary of the Party Central Committee.

In 1982, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union awarded him the Order of Lenin for his active participation in the revolutionary movement and for his enormous contributions to the development and strengthening of the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the two peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

In 1982, he was awarded the Order of Xukhebato by the Officers of the National Assembly of the Mongolian People's Republic.

In 1982, he was awarded the National Gold Medal by the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

In 1982, he was awarded the Order of Jose Marti by the government of the Republic of Cuba.

In 1984, he was awarded the Order of the Flag with Diamond by the party and government of the Hungarian People's Republic.

In 1985, he was awarded the Order of Angkor by the party and government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

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SPEECH BY TRUONG CHINH AT THE SPECIAL PLENUM OF THE 5TH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE (14 JULY 1986)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 p 18

[Speech by Truong Chinh]

[Text] Dear Comrades: venerated and beloved Comrade General Secretary Le Duan has passed away. Our Party Central Committee is holding this special plenum to elect someone to continue his work. May I express my sincere thanks to the Party Central Committee for entrusting me with the heavy responsibility of general secretary, replacing Comrade Le Duan. I pledge to devote all my strength, together with the comrades in the Political Bureau and the Party Central Committee, to leading our entire party, armed forces and people to properly implement the party's line and policies set forth at the 4th and 5th Party Congresses and in the resolution of the 5th Party Central Committee's plenums and the Political Bureau.

Comrades, not much time is available between now and the 6th Party Congress, but the work that our Party Central Committee has to settle remains very great and pressing. On the one hand, we must concentrate on making good preparations for the 6th National Party Congress as regards the content of the party's political tasks and the personnel of the new Party Central Committee, while properly leading congresses of delegates of party organizations held at all levels. On the other hand, we must lead the proper settlement of urgent socio-economic problems raised by the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee; satisfactorily implement the tasks concerning national defense and security and external affairs; whip up a seething emulation movement of the entire party, people and armed forces to score practical achievements in honor of the 6th Party Congress; and create an atmosphere of enthusiasm and confidence to begin the congress.

Comrade General Secretary Le Duan's death was a great loss for our party and people. Our party and state are currently organizing a solemn funeral for him at a high level to manifest our entire party's and people's respect and affection for and profound gratitude to him.

More than ever before, our Party Central Committee must turn sorrow into strength, tighten its ranks, steadily observe party discipline, intensify its solidarity and singleness of mind based on Marxism-Leninism and the line of the 4th and 5th Party Congresses, as well as on the resolutions of the Party

Central Committee and the principles governing our party's organization and activities, in order to create a solid basis for strengthening the unity of the entire party, people and armed forces; insuring the proper implementation of important and pressing tasks in the immediate future; and continuously advancing the revolutionary undertaking of our party and people.

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## ACCELERATING PRODUCTION, PRACTICING ECONOMY AND BEING THE MASTERS OF THE MARKET AND PRICES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 19-20

[Editorial]

[Text] During the past year, through the implementation of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, we have achieved initial results in revamping the economic management mechanism. The mode of management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies has begun to be dismantled. The management mechanism based on economic accounting and socialist business practices is gradually being established. However, due to mistakes in the implementation of the party's resolution, a complex situation has developed in the fields of finances, money, prices and wages. The 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee confirmed that the basic spirit and content of the resolution of the 8th Plenum are correct. We must continue to thoroughly implement this resolution. At the same time, we must take the special measures set forth in the conclusion reached by the 10th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee concerning prices, wages and money.

Our entire party and all our people must redouble their efforts to accelerate production and practice economy; organize the unimpeded circulation of materials and goods in accordance with the plan; transform and manage the market so that we become the masters of the market; and struggle to achieve price and monetary stability.

Every effort must be made to supply materials for agricultural production (particularly fertilizer and pesticides) and for industrial, small industry and handicraft production (particularly energy, supplies and raw materials). We must take inventory of all materials and materials must be managed exclusively by the state so that they can be distributed in accordance with the plan, with priority given to key enterprises, to key areas. We must make good use of materials. Every effort must be made to accelerate production and achieve increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency.

The state has a monopoly in foreign trade. The central level manages foreign exchange in accordance with a unified plan. Foreign currency must be used primarily to import supplies and raw materials needed for production.

Priority must be given to importing the materials needed by localities that contribute foreign currency.

We must immediately restore socialist order in distribution and circulation, beginning on the organized market. We must determinedly transform and manage the market. We must harshly punish acts of speculation, black marketing, conspiracy, theft and the sending of goods from the state-operated economy to the outside. The bourgeoisie must be removed from commerce. A certain percentage of small merchants must be shifted to production, to the services, etc.

The state has the exclusive right to do business in grain, strategic materials and a small number of essential consumer goods so that it can meet the reasonable needs of society as permitted by capabilities. The free market in products in which the state has the exclusive right to do business must be abolished. Every form of wholesale trade in materials of the state must be prohibited. Competition in the procurement and sale of products, particularly export goods, must be stopped. We must reorganize and consolidate the stationary joint-sector inspection stations. Roadside guard stations, which result in markets not being held and rivers being closed to traffic, must immediately be dismantled.

As regards prices, the urgent task of the moment is to struggle to stabilize prices, to control prices on the social market and to prevent prices from suddenly rising and being dictated by free market prices. We must maintain the prices of basic materials and the established rational price ratios between agricultural products and industrial materials and goods to insure the development of production and the expansion of procurements on the basis of planning.

To maintain the standard of living of manual workers and civil servants, every effort must be made to stabilize prices on the social market and a number of essential goods must be distributed by appropriate methods.

In the field of finances, we must collect all taxes and other forms of revenue in full and correctly. We must practice strict frugality in spending. Determined steps must be taken to reduce the size of administrative staffs.

The operating procedures of the bank must be changed and improved so that it is convenient for production and business units to borrow capital, cash is closely managed, the turnover of money is accelerated and the use of checks in payment transactions is expanded.

In today's complex situation, our entire party and all our people must strengthen their unity, struggle as hard as they can, accelerate production, practice economy, be the masters of distribution and circulation and bring about a good change in the economy and living conditions. We must build stronger discipline and order within the party and the state apparatus and strictly comply with the resolutions of the party and policies of the state. We must correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism and combat bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. At the same time, we must combat liberalism and the lack of organization and discipline. Units and individuals



who do good work must be praised and rewarded. Units and individuals who violate the policies of the party and laws of the state must be harshly punished.

By speaking and acting in accordance with the resolution and with our party and people sharing a common will, being united in action and making the greatest possible efforts, we will surely record new economic and social achievements. By focusing our efforts in the correct direction charted by the 10th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, we will surely overcome the difficulties being faced today, gradually stabilize distribution and circulation and continue to advance our country's economy down the path of socialism.

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SATISFACTORILY CARRY OUT IDEOLOGICAL WORK IN PREPARATION FOR THE CPV CONGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 21-29

[Article by Le Duc Tho, member of CPV Central Committee Political Bureau (also published in the 28 July issue of NHAN DAN Newspaper)]

[Text] We are moving toward the 6th CPV Congress at a time when the domestic and international situation is, though employing some basic advantages, revealing many difficulties. The greatest and most pressing difficulty is that the socio-economic situation in our country has yet to be stabilized and there are some aspects which are still complicated and chaotic. Negative phenomena in the party and society are still numerous and are, in some cases, relatively serious. We are also faced with the demand to sum up our work experience over the years, set forth tasks for the period ahead and redistribute cadres, striving to achieve a transition of cadres that will insure continuity and succession in party leadership.

The enemy is seeking ways to undermine our country's revolution day and night. Now they are taking advantage of our difficulties by stepping up their psychological warfare activities--spreading false and incendiary rumors--in order to sow division within our ranks. These difficulties have created feelings of embarrassment and apprehension among many party cadres and members and among the masses. Meanwhile, our ideological work has not yet been given adequate attention as there still exist rightist tendencies and a lack of enthusiasm, dynamism and sharpness.

To prepare for the party congress and to create a new atmosphere in the party and among the people, together with the organizational and other tasks, ideological work holds a very important role and there will be many things to do to enhance political and ideological singleness, make contributions to strengthening party organizations and do away with incorrect conceptions and negative phenomena in the party and society while struggling to oppose the enemy's distorting propaganda allegations.

If we think that difficulties will make the carrying out of the ideological work hard and if this leads to relaxing ideological work, we will make a mistake as we will destroy a sharp weapon for the struggle of the party. The more difficult the situation, the more satisfactorily we will have to carry out ideological work. In doing ideological work, we must successfully grasp

and correctly analyze the actual ideological situation of party cadres and members and the masses.

It is true that among party cadres and members and the masses, along with correct and healthy thoughts, there are also indications of perplexity and concern. Even worse, some have shown skepticism, pessimism and misgivings in the face of difficulties arising in the country's socio-economic life. Affected by this uneasiness, they have reached conflicting conclusions in assessing the situation and adopted different ways of thinking, understanding and doing things regarding a number of issues. Realities show that whenever the revolution is faced with difficulties, conflicting opinions will invariably surface regarding the assessment of the situation. Due to subjective and superficial thinking, some fail to develop an overall view of the situation and place too heavy an emphasis on one aspect or another. Others, shrinking from personal responsibility, fail to be objective in their assessment, speaking guardedly of shortcomings and difficulties while highlighting achievements and strongpoints.

Meanwhile, out of pessimism, some only see difficulties and shortcomings and are driven by their bleak outlook of the situation into disregarding achievements.

Correctly assessing the situation is extremely important in leadership and ideological work. If an assessment is made subjectively, unwisely and carelessly, correct ideological orientations cannot be established. We mention both strongpoints and shortcomings not for the purpose of achieving a balance but in the scientific spirit of correctly observing facts and accurately describing strongpoints and shortcomings. Neither do we neglect to mention achievements and strongpoints, nor fail to look squarely at shortcomings and difficulties. We point out our shortcomings and difficulties in order to correctly evaluate the actual situation, analyze it and try to overcome it rather than to evaluate the situation incorrectly or to create panic and pessimism.

In the past, due to the many complicated problems presented by the objective actual situation and to the limitations of our knowledge and perception, divergent opinions have existed. This is quite normal and easily understandable. In ideological work, we must create an openminded and frank atmosphere for discussion so as to eventually achieve an identity of view and unity in action. To correctly assess the situation and unify opinions we must have correct ideological methods and base ourselves on realities. Reality always remains the criteria of truth. Theories must be compared with reality while, on the other hand, reality must be used to verify concepts.

Take the assessment of the CPV Central Committee's 8th Plenum resolution for example. Different opinions do exist, but we must examine it on the basis of realities. Reality clearly shows that although there remain several points to be supplemented and perfected, the CPV Central Committee's 8th Plenum resolution is basically sound as it points out the way to eliminate bureaucracy and state subsidies and completely shift to the practice of economic accounting and socialist business. This is a major shift in the mechanism of management. To bring about this shift we must simultaneously

enforce a host of measures according to different plans in which numerous influencing factors are taken into account instead of being dismissed; and this must be carried out in a process involving specific steps and without haste.

In directing the settlement of the issue involving prices, wages and money, however, we have failed to take all of these aspects into consideration and have made serious mistakes. In the various localities, while making preparations for party congresses, party committee echelons should fully and correctly evaluate the situation of their own localities and party organizations. It is necessary to adopt an objective attitude and look squarely at reality frankly. Those who are heavily influenced by departmentalistic, parochialistic and individualistic thoughts will assess the situation superficially and inaccurately. Only by accurately assessing the situation will we be able to develop correct viewpoints and orientations for work and create the basis for achieving ideological unity throughout the party.

Our party is approaching its 6th Congress. Every party cadre and member as well as every caring citizen feels responsible toward the party, and the country is concerned about party activities. The greatest concern of everyone is whether the forthcoming congress will be able to set forth appropriate viewpoints and objectives as well as truly effective measures in order to gradually remove the difficulties and bottlenecks that are currently plaguing the socio-economic situation; who will be elected to the party's leadership organs at the central, local and grassroots level, and whether the party will be able to consolidate its contingent of cadres and make it fully capable of resolving the momentous and difficult problems facing the nation and steadily pushing the country forward.

We must admit the reality that there exist at various echelons and in the various sectors many leading cadres who, though having undergone training and trials and although credited with certain meritorious services, are now at an advanced age and physically weak, thereby making it hard for them to discharge their duties.

The aspiration of the majority of party members and people is to renovate the cadre-related work and assign the right cadres to the right places so as to create a new strength and unite and lead the masses in developing strengths, overcoming difficulties and successfully fulfilling the revolutionary objectives and tasks devised by the party. Not only will this have an effect on the future of the country and the revolution, but it is also related to the life of each family and each individual citizen and the future of our children. For this reason, party members and cadres and people throughout the country are extensively discussing various issues regarding policies and personnel of the all-level party congresses. This is a reflection of the sense of responsibility and political awareness of party cadres and members and our people.

We should encourage party cadres and members to contribute their views to party organizations and welcome the people's views on developing the party.

At the same time, we must struggle against slanderous or ill-intentioned allegations of dissatisfied or opportunist elements and even of the enemy.

Ideological work should consist of intensively educating and guiding party cadres and members and people in entertaining correct thoughts and suggesting to the central level practical policies and measures aimed at overcoming difficulties. Moreover, it is necessary to make party cadres and members and people understand that although the country is facing temporary difficulties and although there still are shortcomings in party leadership and state management, we are in a good position to overcome difficulties, improve the situation and take the country to new steps forward.

There are many things to be done in the current ideological task. One of them is to review the criticism and self-criticism tasks and make preparations for and satisfactorily conduct the congresses of all-level party organizations. The satisfactory fulfillment of these tasks will be instrumental in promoting high unanimity of views, devising correct solutions and forming a body of core leading cadres capable of implementing party lines and continuously pushing the revolution forward.

Reviewing past work is a very important measure for unifying views and policies because all major policies of the party originated from facts and met the latter's demands. To be creative, the revolution must be based on a review of facts. The many innovations that we displayed during the struggles against the French, the Americans and the Beijing hegemonist expansionists was due to our reviews of facts.

Reviewing facts will help us develop our dialectical ability and our awareness. It is also a very good method of educating party members and people. Only by going deep into, analyzing and reviewing facts will we have a basis to achieve unanimity of views in evaluating the situation and to set forth policies, measures and tasks. The forthcoming party congress must be able to do this.

Over the past 10 years, our people's revolutionary movement has produced many models. To review models will help us find correct solutions. Product contracts in agriculture were the result of a review of agricultural models.

In southern Vietnam, the task of grouping peasants into production collectives has been basically completed. How are these collectives to be consolidated? How do they advance? To answer these questions, there is no other way but to resort to reviewing the models of these collectives.

In northern Vietnam, the product contract system has been achieved, but in many places people are engaging in a non-specific contract practice. What must be done to perfect the contract system and the cooperative managerial system? What must be done to continue to take the northern rural areas forward?

Does southern Vietnam have any characteristics that are different from those of northern Vietnam in advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production? In the industrial and communication and transportation sectors,

there have been many experiences in the areas of management, organization and development of production, as well as experiences in joint ventures and business associations. These experiences need to be reviewed as soon as possible.

In distribution and circulation, the model initiated by Ba Thi has been admired by many people and the press. What was her experience? Can that experience be applied only to the conditions of Ho Chi Minh City or also to other localities as well? The Binh Tay Market, various fruit-selling corporations and some establishments in Ho Chi Minh City have recently carried out temporary joint business with bourgeois traders. Is this a correct practice? What is our solution for the days ahead since many places and localities have applied different models?

If we do not review these problems we cannot find correct solutions to them. To review tasks is necessary, but the method is not easy. In reviewing reality, we must search out principled problems, correct conclusions and popular experiences. We must not draw on vague experiences from some models and then disseminate them to other places as some localities do.

Recently, many ministries, sectors, organizations and enterprises claimed that they have reviewed their tasks. However, in reading their recapitulative reports we found that only their achieved tasks, pending tasks and strongpoints and weaknesses were mentioned while no useful conclusions were presented. In some places, they vociferously called for a conference at the end of each year to review tasks. However, conducting a review is not as simple as letting the head of a unit make a resounding report or encouraging some conferees to present their general viewpoints admiring one another while barely mentioning shortcomings to please the unit head. They usually hold a feast at the end of the conference to distribute gifts and make news in newspapers or on television, some even receive commendations and awards. Such a review brings no results, just waste and negative effects.

In the coming party congress, we must realistically carry out a review with more attention and care. In conducting a review, we must be able to correctly analyze the implementation of the party's positions and resolutions, closely evaluate the real situation, distinguish between correct and wrong conclusions regarding various positions and measures and draw on lively and correct experiences and lessons. We must carry out this task with specific aims and must proceed from the lower to the higher levels in order to obtain a perfect result. Practically, at places where unanimous ideas have not been achieved they must pay special attention to reviewing reality. They must determine the proposed ideas based on reality, because no consensus will be reached through arguments.

They must use collective minds to analyze reality with correct methods and thinking. In doing so collective members can integrate their intelligence and reach a correct conclusion even though their backgrounds are limited. One man, though capable in many aspects, cannot see all angles of a problem. This is a requirement in conducting a review. In a letter to various organizations during the preparation for the 9th CPSU Congress in 1920, Lenin wrote: only by carrying out a profound review can we be able to contribute to the party

congress a realistic experience drawn from deliberated thinking, collective labor and the efforts of the entire party membership through their economic building tasks.

Along with reviewing work, we must carry out self-criticism and criticism satisfactorily. Each ministry, each sector and each party committee echelon should, through the reviewing process, assert strongpoints, point out shortcomings, clearly distinguish right from wrong and draw upon lessons of experience; and, on this basis, request individuals to make self-criticism and criticism, including criticism of both higher and lower echelons. Self-criticism and criticism must be conducted comprehensively, specifically and profoundly; and it is necessary to avoid a superficial and general approach. Self-criticism and criticism is the law governing the progress of the party. Recently, with a high sense of responsibility and in the interest of the revolutionary cause of the people and the party, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat have strictly made self-criticism and criticism before the Party Central Committee, clearly pointing out strongpoints; deeply analyzing mistakes and shortcomings regarding leadership, guidance and supervision; and decided on effective remedial measures.

Self-criticism and criticism has also been conducted in a relatively satisfactory manner by the various echelons and sectors. However, it cannot be finished in just one single phase, nor can it solve every problem. To speed up work activities and consolidate the masses' confidence, all echelons and sectors must actively develop strongpoints, correct shortcomings and introduce self-criticism and criticism as a regular feature of party activities.

At present, there still remain some people who are very afraid to make self-criticism and criticism. These very same comrades feared neither imprisonment while carrying out clandestine missions nor sacrifices while fighting on the battlefield. Nevertheless, they have now developed an aversion to self-criticism and criticism. When asked to make criticism, they shrink back into a defensive position and try to avoid the issue in an effort not to offend others. Some people have been driven by personal motives in making self-criticism and criticism, thus depriving this activity of its positive effect. Each of us should sternly examine ourselves to see if we have been influenced by personal motives. With objectivism and impartiality, we will have peace in our hearts. We must base our real lives on testifying to realities without complaining--strong trees never die easily.

Some comrades worry about criticizing others, especially higher echelon comrades for fear of being persecuted, transferred or blocked in promotions. For some reasons, persecution is still prevalent in our party. However, being revolutionists we do not fear such practices. We must frankly and bravely continue our struggle--the only way to overcome negative phenomena. Our party will not accept and will take disciplinary measures against anyone who persecutes those who criticize him. It will criticize those who are reluctant and indulgent, while taking strict measures against those who have ill intentions against criticism and self-criticism, which is detrimental to unity within the party.

Correct criticism and self-criticism will not create grievances between comrades. We must base ourselves on truth and reality in order to persuade our comrades on a long-term basis. It is not easy to persuade those who have made mistakes. We should not turn our backs on these comrades, but must realistically show our love and sympathy to them in order to strengthen unity and advance together.

We must conduct criticism and self-criticism more satisfactorily. Reality shows that satisfactory criticism and self-criticism is an important measure for reaching unanimity in evaluating the situation, determining position and method of work, gradually overcoming negative phenomena in the party, solving worries and concerns of party cadres and members, enhancing the party's strength and consolidating the people's confidence.

In light of the 5th Party Central Committee's 10th Plenum resolution, ideological work in general, and self-criticism and criticism in particular, must contribute actively to improving the class character and militancy of the party and the leading and exemplary role of party members and firmly maintaining the principle of democratic centralism within the party. Only on the basis of democracy can we achieve centralized leadership, and democracy must be placed under centralized leadership. In the party, one has the right to cling to his views. However, one must implement the resolution of a collective. Clinging to one's views does not mean opposing the resolution of a collective.

The strength of our party lies in its sense of organization and discipline. All cadres and party members as well as all echelons and sectors must uphold the sense of organization and discipline to scrupulously implement all party directives and resolutions and must submit to party discipline. They must implement correctly the principle that when a resolution is issued by the party organization, individuals must submit to the collective, the lower echelon must submit to the higher echelon and the entire party must submit to the Party Central Committee.

It is necessary to severely criticize all undemocratic manifestations or manifestations of formalistic democracy while resolutely overcoming such manifestations as doing whatever one likes whenever one pleases, fragmentation, distraction, localism and the failure to firmly preserve democratic centralism in the party. We must realize that it is the lack of democracy and laxity of leadership and discipline that have devitalized the party's militancy.

To satisfactorily prepare for and hold party organization congresses at various levels in anticipation of the National Party Congress, all party committee echelons must do their best to prepare reports on the activities of their sectors and localities. At the same time, they must insure unanimity of views on the disposition of cadres in compliance with the direction of the Party Central Committee Secretariat.

In the past, certain localities resorted to the practice of modifying the Party Central Committee's draft political report with the annexation of some details on their situation to present to the local party organization



congresses as work reports prepared by the local party committee echelons themselves.

This time, all party organizations are asked to review the actual situation in their localities themselves and, on that basis, prepare reports on their work to present to their congresses. They must review the political, economic, cultural and social situation in their localities in every aspect. They must also review the task of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions in detail and not in general.

We must do the same with self-criticism and criticism. What is the substance of the self-criticism and criticism drive in all provinces, districts, villages, enterprises and organs? This drive must be conducted by all those concerned in a highly specific and clear manner and in accordance with the requirements applied to each sector and echelon.

We must, on the basis of reviewing work and conducting self-criticism and criticism, satisfactorily prepare reports on the work of localities and contribute views to the Party Central Committee's draft political report. While studying the Party Central Committee's draft political report, we should make suggestions for replenishing whatever we deem necessary.

In electing party committee echelons, we must insure the criteria of cadres, especially the criteria concerning their political and ethical quality, work style and capabilities, and ability to unite everybody. At the same time, we must pay attention to the composition of the structure aimed at building a strong collective of leadership that can insure unanimity in terms of views and policies and can display a good work style.

If we elect an organ of leadership whose members do not work in harmony with each other, the cadres of that collective cannot sustain leadership no matter how competent they are.

While holding party congresses at various levels, the higher echelon must send cadres to attend party congresses at the lower level, the Party Central Committee must send cadres to attend party congresses at the provincial level and provinces and districts must send cadres to attend party congresses at the grassroots level.

While attending party congresses at the lower level, representatives from the higher level must not play the role of an important person but must successfully grasp the actual situation in the localities concerned. They must also think about and contribute interesting views to these localities. Only in this way can they help the lower echelons satisfactorily hold their congresses while enabling the higher echelons to grasp the situation at the lower level.

We must select representatives to attend various party congresses carefully and in such a way as to insure that they have the necessary quality to contribute many practical views to these congresses.

This time, party congresses at various levels must change their work methods and avoid ostentatiousness, formalism and waste. They must also concentrate on realistically solving the problems arising from realities in their localities.

In the entire process of the party's ideological work, propaganda and training retain a particularly important position. All propaganda and training organs should manage their activities even more closely in every aspect, especially those related to press and publication.

In the past, there has been a relatively large number of well-written books of memoirs on the revolution which can be used to educate the masses, especially youths and teenagers. But there have also been certain books of memoirs on the revolution which have not been written accurately, thus creating a bad impact in many respects.

The first requirements for writers of history and memoirs are to reflect the truth precisely and objectively, to be able to analyze the application of party policies in actual revolutionary activities, to respect the role of the masses, to be absolutely objective and to prevent individualism from interfering.

The masses are the creators of history. Therefore, the contents of memoirs must provide an impressive description of various heroic collectives and individuals and of the mothers of the many heroes and combatants who have scored great achievements for us, a heroic nation. Of course, this does not mean that we will not speak and write of leadership comrades individually. The questions are when and how the memoirs should be written so they can produce good effects. We must respect the truth of history and must realize the equality of history. We can resort to fiction only when we compose a poem or write a story. But how can we do so when writing history and memoirs? We should especially not resort to fiction under the influence of individualism. When writing history, we may come up with different views. The view of each person is only a personal view. Only through the general view of the collective can we insure accuracy.

The press should write more of the progressive models in the masses--workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, ordinary laborers and those who are fighting for national defense--and should cut down on unnecessary news reports on ceremonious functions--send-off and welcoming ceremonies and receptions.

The press should renovate its operations attitude by refraining from spreading unidirectional propaganda and by telling accurately about those things already done, about strongpoints and about good models. Simultaneously, it should also mention those things which have not been done, shortcomings and weaknesses and should analyze clearly the reasons for these and recommend corrective measures. Only by doing so can the press truly produce good effects and be the worthy propagandist, promoter and organizer of the collective as called by Lenin.

At present there are many negative phenomena. We must criticize and openly publicize in the press a number of typical cases. We must combine conducting

self-criticism and criticism in the internal ranks with conducting open self-criticism and criticism in the press. Or course, we must not publish everything in the press at will. Instead, we must insure careful selection, must weigh the pros and cons carefully and must boldly make public important cases for educational purposes.

We may expand scientific discussions on matters concerning theory and facts. We must encourage scientists to enthusiastically study science, including natural science and social science, and must truly attach importance to those scientific research projects which are useful, are well and meticulously planned and are complete with appropriate suggestions. However, such discussions must have realistic purposes and their conduct must be guided closely. We should not take advantage of discussions to propagate erroneous personal views as this will only further complicate the situation and cause harm to the unity of views.

Some comrades have held that in various localities, there is no story about rightist tendencies developing in the course of carrying out ideological work because everything handed down from higher echelons has been done scrupulously. Is that right? To see if there are any rightist tendencies, we must check to see how self-criticism and criticism, ideological management and cultural and artistic activities have been carried out; whether localities have taken the initiative to bring out shortcomings and weaknesses in order to draw in experience for better implementation or if they have left this to be desired: whether they have struggled positively to prevent and overcome erroneous thoughts and actions among party cadres and members and the masses; and how they have struggled against enemy sabotage propaganda allegations.

To be a sharp and effective weapon, ideological work must be active, realistic and combative and must closely combine theory with practice. The deep penetration of realities is the fundamental question of ideological and political education. Especially in the current situation, ideological work must be directed at those realistic and hot problems arising from the reality of life, must meet the needs and aspirations of the masses and must contribute to resolving those problems regarding the welfare of the masses. To attain good results, ideological work must be carried out in accordance with the motto: One's words must match one's deeds. It is necessary to refrain from talking only about empty theories or from talking one way and acting another.

From now to the coming CPV Congress, the miscreants and the enemy will seek ways to sabotage us ideologically and organizationally. Even worse, they have falsely used other person's names to create fake documents containing distortions and fabrications in order to serve their incendiary sabotage propaganda purposes.

We must, on the one hand, heighten our vigilance, promptly detect and resolutely frustrate all the enemy's distorting propaganda allegations, the spreading of false rumors and other enemy psychological warfare activities; must do away with tendencies to aloofness, to let things drift unnoticed and to relax efforts in the struggle against the sabotage propaganda of the miscreants and the enemy; and must, on the other hand, comply scrupulously with all the regulations governing the circulation and storing of party

documents with a determination not to allow the miscreants and the enemy to exploit them.

Looking back over our ideological work of the past few decades, we have attained many good results successfully improving the theoretical skills and knowledge of party cadres and members in each revolutionary stage; teaching patriotism and proletarian internationalism; and motivating millions of party cadres and members to volunteer to go for combat and public missions, to perform satisfactorily the national and democratic revolution, to build socialism, and to defend the fatherland.

We have also, however, noted that ideological work has at times been derailed in one aspect or another. When carrying out reeducation, we have committed a mistake by carrying out individual criticism without linking this with the implementation of the political tasks. Later on, we at times relaxed self-criticism and criticism, failed to link criticism for the implementation of political tasks with criticism for qualities and lifestyle, or criticized perfunctorily and generally. At one time we tended to regard ideology as the leading work of Maoist style and at another time regarded technology as a decisive factor, belittling ideological and spiritual factors.

As the knowledge of the masses has now been improved in various aspects, they demand that our cadres and party members be fully endowed with quality and ability and be worthy of being both leaders and faithful servants of the people.

Let our entire party strive to make its 6th Congress a great success. With a high degree of unanimity in terms of ideology and organization, it is certain that we will be able to gradually overcome the present difficulties, thus advancing our revolution to new, more beautiful and glorious stages of development.

CSO: 4210/12

## ON THE INITIAL PERIOD OF A PEOPLE'S WAR TO DEFEND THE FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 30-35

[Article by Senior General Hoang Van Thai]

[Text] As we know, every war, be it short or long--whether it lasts for 5 to 7 days or for decades--has a beginning and an end. The initial period of a war is an extremely important period.

In the past 5,000 years, there have been nearly 15,000 wars on our planet, some large, some small. And, in virtually every war, the two sides focused their efforts on solving, in accordance with their strategy, the problems related to the initial period of the war because this is an extremely important period, one which can determine the entire course and outcome of the war.

However, it was not until the middle of the 20th Century, particularly during the years of World War II, when military science and technology reached new stages of development, equipment and weapons became increasingly modern and first-strike capabilities grew larger, that the role and importance of the initial period in a war increased markedly in both preparations for and the actual conduct of the war as well as in the fields of theoretical research and military science and art in many countries, in our country as well as our enemy's.

In the past 50 years, world military history has provided us with many very valuable lessons and experiences--all learned and drawn as a result of much bloodshed, as a result of correctly or incorrectly perceiving the problems associated with the initial period in a war and handling these problems well or poorly.

In World War II (1941-1945), under theories on a "total war," "blitzkrieg war," "mechanized war," "massive surprise attack" and so forth, Hitler's fascists launched surprise attacks on many countries during the first days of their war of aggression against these countries and, depending upon the potentials and preparations made by each of these countries, won varying degrees of victory. For example, they launched surprise strategic air raids on more than 70 airfields in France, Belgium and Holland, more than 20 airfields in Poland and many other important targets in these countries, as a

result of which France lost nearly 300 aircraft in only 2 days and Poland was quickly annexed by the fascists.

In the case of the Soviet Union, as retold by our Soviet comrades, the Hitlerites used several thousand aircraft in massive surprise attacks on airfields and air defense facilities, on cities, railroad stations, bridges and ferries, on troop areas and command posts in the military regions along the western border, penetrating Soviet territory to a depth of 400 to 500 kilometers. This inflicted very heavy losses on the Soviet Union from the standpoint of air, ground and air defense forces, and disrupted rail and highways transportation. Along with this strategic air attack, hundreds of German mechanized infantry and tank divisions, having quickly penetrated deep into Soviet territory, posed major difficulties to the Soviet Union in its effort to organize defenses, protect the people and defend national defense, economic and cultural installations as well as in mobilizing and deploying military corps and army groups, particularly in zones near the border, and disrupting the entire economy of these important areas.

The Israeli-Egyptian war (June 1967) provided us with another valuable lesson in perceiving and dealing with the problems associated with the initial period of a war. Employing a very large air force, the Israelis launched a massive surprise attack--opening the war of aggression against Egypt--on nearly 20 airfields and immediately destroyed nearly 400 aircraft, thereby preventing Egypt from making any significant response throughout the first hour of the war. At the same time, they mobilized forces very quickly and rapidly deployed ground forces to the bank of the Suez Canal. And, as we saw, this war concluded in the favor of the aggressors only 1 week later.

Even in our country, in the war of liberation, both we and the enemy sought every way to resolve, in a way consistent with each side's strategy, the problems faced before the war and during the initial period of the war. For example, in August 1945, after winning political power, we immediately had to deal with two enemies at either end of the country. From the very outset, the French wanted to "strike quickly and win victory quickly" in order to quickly become the ruler of our entire country again. We signed the 6 March 1946 Preliminary Agreement to remove Chiang Kai-shek from the situation so that efforts could be focused on dealing with one enemy, the French colonialists. Then, we signed the 14 September 1946 Modus Vivendi to gain time to prepare for the war of resistance. In December 1946, when we saw that the enemy wanted to widen the war to the entire country, we decided to launch the national war of resistance. Thus, through the very effective strategy of "progress through conciliation" adopted by President Ho and the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee, our people gained more than 1 year of time to prepare the country before embarking on the initial period of the war. In the war of resistance against the United States, before the United States rushed troops to the South and unleashed air and naval attacks on the North, we launched local uprisings and were waging a revolutionary war in the South while restoring and developing the economy, building up the army and making all the necessary preparations in the North, including the preparation of forces to go to the South. When the United States began sending troops into the South and attacking the North, we were not taken by surprise because we had a correct understanding of the situation and had made good

preparations. When the U.S. imperialists intensified and widened the war--due to many different reasons, they had to fight and escalate the war at the same time--we were able to fight them while building and gradually developing our forces... Thus, by the time we entered the initial period of the resistance against the United States nationwide, we had more than 10 years to make preparations, preparations that were made with an increasing sense of urgency as the start of the war approached. And, thus, it is clear that, in the war of liberation, despite our limitations and those of the enemy, we managed to prepare the country thoroughly. As a result, in both the resistance against France and the resistance against the United States, the enemy was unable to carry out their "strike quickly and win victory quickly" strategy. We, on the other hand, were not taken by surprise and were able to maintain the strategic initiative when entering the initial period of the war, which created very important conditions for the development of the revolutionary war.

Today, one of the major features of the military field is that military science and technology, military equipment and weapons have reached a very modern level of development. The destructive power and the killing power of bombs and shells are large. In particular, the means of transporting troops and weapons (such as aircraft, war ships, tanks, missiles and cannons) are long range. As a result, the opening blow by an aggressor in a war can be stronger, broader in scope and more unexpected than ever before. With air and naval superiority, an aggressor can launch surprise air attacks, advance forces by land, carry out airborne or seaborne landings and attack the front, rear and flanks, attack leadership and command centers, communication and transportation centers, industrial centers and population centers at the same time in an attempt to paralyze and disrupt the rear area of the opposition during the very first minutes of the war. Consequently, today, every country that seeks to defend itself well must make preparations in peace time for war time. When an aggressor cannot employ the factor of surprise, we cannot be taken by surprise. And, the only way to achieve this is to make preparations in advance, make preparations in every field so that we are ready to immediately retaliate, ready to defeat the enemy as soon as they launch their opening strike.

We must always remember Lenin's teaching concerning communist parties and the proletarian revolution: "A revolution is only of value when it can defend itself."(1) Self-defense, of course, requires preparation, requires readiness, requires never relaxing one's vigilance, never being taken by surprise. Rather, we must take and always maintain the initiative in order to win the largest possible victory from the very start of the war.

Today, one of the universal laws of the socialist revolution in every country is that socialist construction must be closely tied to defending the socialist fatherland. Consequently, even in peace time, full importance must be attached to defending the socialist fatherland. Moreover, serious thought must be given to and every effort must be made to prepare for a people's war to defend the fatherland.

In our country, due to Vietnam's geography and strategic position, there is an even closer link between building and defending the fatherland. Our nation, after winning victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors, after winning

independence for the fatherland and reunifying the fatherland, immediately had to directly deal with the open, brazen and cunning policy of hostility of the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles, whose expansionist army operates on the mainland, in the air space and in the offshore waters that abut ours. In actuality, during the past 10 years, they took us by surprise in very bold, large-scale wars of aggression at either end of our country in which they committed countless crimes against our people. Since then, they have devoted extensive efforts to a wide-ranging war of sabotage and a border war of encroachment and occupation while constantly threatening to "teach" us a "second lesson" by means of a large-scale war of aggression against our country.

In the face of such a special situation, it is even more necessary for us to recall and resolutely put into practice the teaching of the great Uncle Ho: "Be it peace time or time of war, we must take the initiative, must look ahead and prepare in advance." (2)

The large-scale war of aggression that the enemy threatens to carry out against our country would be an unjust war. The war that we plan to fight to combat this war of aggression, should the enemy recklessly unleash such a war, is a just war, a war of self-defense, a war to defend the socialist fatherland, a revolutionary war, a full-scale war fought by all the people, a modern war, a war based on an alliance of forces.

Compared to the wars of liberation (such as the war of resistance against France, the war of resistance against the United States...), this war, beside sharing certain similarities such as being a full-scale people's war led by the party, differs in many ways in terms of whom we are fighting, targets, forces and mode of warfare, with the largest and most evident differences being in the matters related to the initial period in the war.

In a war to defend the fatherland, in contrast to a war of liberation, we must fight an enemy who suddenly attacks our country from the outside. And, from the very start of the war, we must and can immediately retaliate against their opening attacks in order to wipe out large numbers of enemy forces while determinedly defending our land and territory, protecting the people, protecting economic and cultural projects and protecting the gains of our revolution.

To accomplish this, we cannot move ahead one step at a time during the initial period of the war, cannot advance from small to large-scale attacks on the enemy, from scattered guerrilla attacks to concerted conventional attacks as we did in the war of liberation but must, from the very start, mount large, medium and small-scale attacks on the enemy through the local people's war and the war fought by the main force military corps and conduct, through powerful stationary forces and large mobile forces, widespread strategic combat operations and simultaneous or successive combined force campaigns along with many large and small battles being continuously fought everywhere. Here, one factor that differs completely from the war of liberation is the need to mobilize, during the very first days of the war, large, fully manned, strategic military corps that can be assembled quickly, are highly mobile and are equipped with modern weapons, together with combat ready standing forces,



in order to promptly retaliate against the forces of the aggressor--their ground, air and naval forces--over a broad expanse of territory--possibly over many different battlefields--and in alliance with our friends on the battlefields of all three countries of Indochina, on land, in the air and at sea, beginning on the frontline and areas of decisive strategic importance.

Thus, it is clear that the initial period of a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland is an objective reality that we must perceive and deal with correctly. Not knowing that this period exists or knowing but not making thorough preparations for it are a serious mistake and will lead to heavy, incalculable losses.

This is a new element in our military line, military science and military art in the period of building and defending the socialist fatherland. It also places a new requirement upon our entire party, all our people and all our armed forces in terms of their perception, their viewpoint and their organizational efforts in preparing for and conducting a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland.

It can be said that to correctly understand the role and position of the initial period of the war and correctly resolve the key problems related to this initial period are to know and apply one of the most important laws of a war to defend the fatherland under modern conditions and to know how to insure victory at the very outset and how to continue to win victories in the course of a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland and bring this war to a victorious conclusion.

As mentioned above, today, whereas the course and outcome of a war are dependent, to a large degree, upon the results achieved in the initial period of the war, the size of the victories won and the extent of losses are mainly dependent upon the results of the efforts made in peace time to prepare the country to fight aggression.

The failure to make preparations or made adequate preparations in peace time will have major consequences not only upon the initial period of a war, but also upon the entire course and outcome of the war.

Therefore, preparing the country to fight aggression is a vital strategic task, a pressing and constant task of the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces, of the entire proletarian dictatorship system. This task must be closely combined with the process of socialist transformation and socialist construction; with the process of carrying out their three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the cultural-ideological revolution; with the process of building the new system, building the new economy, establishing the new culture and molding the new man; with the process of constantly strengthening the proletarian dictatorship state and developing the strength of socialist collective ownership exercised by the laboring people to defeat the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage.

Preparing the country to fight aggression requires that we know how to effectively combine preparations for pressing, immediate jobs with preparations based on constant, long-range requirements; combine comprehensive, well coordinated preparations with preparations that focus on a central, key factor; and closely combine preparations by the entire army, the entire state and all the people, military, political, spiritual and economic preparations, preparations for organizing and mobilizing forces, preparations in terms of establishing and perfecting our battlefield deployment...

Preparing the country throughout the period of peace time construction to fight aggression also entails effectively preparing to mobilize all the people to arise in a war of resistance and preparing to put the entire country on a war time footing when the enemy is about to launch or has begun to launch a war of aggression.

Organizing all the people in a war of resistance and putting the country on a war time footing entail a widespread, comprehensive, nationwide political, military, economic, cultural-ideological and scientific-technical campaign conducted throughout the party, among all the people and among all the armed forces. The purposes of this campaign are to insure that, from the very first moments of the war, we maintain the strategic initiative militarily, politically and diplomatically; promptly put the armed forces in a war posture; shift the entire national economy to production in support of the war to defend the country and in support of the people's welfare; and rapidly shift the whole of social life to a regimen that conforms with the laws of war.

In view of the wholly violent character and vast scale of modern warfare, in view of the new and very high requirements involved in defending the socialist fatherland and in view of the large amount of complex work related to the initial period in a war--as we have already seen--all of us, the entire party, all the armed forces and all the people, all sectors within the proletarian dictatorship system on the central, local and basic levels, on the front and in the rear, on the frontline and in the hinterland, along the seacoast and in the mountains, in the North, in central Vietnam and in the South...must plan for every complex situation that might occur during the initial period of a war and must soon begin working together, with the fullest possible spirit of responsibility and in a very serious attitude, to prepare the country to fight aggression. Of course, planning for every eventuality in the initial period of a war does not mean failing to plan for all the changes that might occur throughout the course of the war so that the necessary preparations can be made. This objective reality makes it even more necessary for us to have a thorough understanding of both strategic tasks and know how to fuse the two strategic tasks of building and defending the fatherland, how to closely combine the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy. It makes it even more necessary for us to resolve both basic and pressing problems to insure that the economy is prosperous and strong and that our national defense is solid and dependable.

Our nation of Vietnam is a nation that has a very deep love of peace and desires to maintain peace in order to devote its efforts to building a prosperous and strong country, building a comfortable, civilized and happy

life amidst independence, freedom and socialism. At the same time, our nation always upholds the great thinking of our times that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," is very experienced in fighting foreign aggression and possesses the military bearing of an heroic, unyielding nation. Through the brilliant victories of the August Revolution, the resistance against France and the resistance against the United States, our nation joined the ranks of the nations in the vanguard of the fight against imperialism. Today, in the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland, each Vietnamese, most importantly each of our cadres and party members, must maintain and build upon this precious tradition so that we continue to win glorious victories in the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 37, p 145.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Chien tranh nhan dan Viet nam," [Vietnam's People's War], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, p 334.

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## THE ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF LABOR AT BASIC ECONOMIC UNITS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 36-43, 63

[Article by Dao Thien Thi]

[Text] Economic management and enterprise management encompass many areas: the management of plans, technical management, the management of supplies, financial management, labor management, etc. Among these, labor management is of very important significance. Labor is a factor in all these areas of management. Good labor management is a prerequisite to good management of supplies, good technical management, good financial management and so forth. It is the worker who formulates and implements plans, who produces and uses materials and energy, who maintains and operates machinery and equipment... Organizing and managing labor by means of specific forms and measures designed to tap the spirit of collective ownership of each person, from the enterprise director to the various production sections and units, the functional offices and sections and each worker, are the good organization and management of labor and have a direct and strong impact upon all other areas of management. Therefore, the mechanism by which labor is organized and managed is an important, indispensable structural component of the economic management and enterprise management mechanism, one that cannot be given light attention.

Organizing labor and managing labor are not only administrative work or personnel work, nor do they simply have the purpose of satisfying the limited and immediate interests of the worker. Every enterprise is part of the division of social labor. The mechanism that the enterprise uses to organize and manage its labor must be designed to fully develop the role played by the rights and obligations of collective ownership of each person, from the labor manager to the worker, in order to discover and make full use of each potential of the basic unit, practice thorough economy, work in a dynamic and creative manner with the lowest possible costs and high productivity, quality and efficiency, complete the task assigned under the state plan and serve the interests of the country as best possible, which include the interests of the enterprise, of each component and each worker.

The mechanism by which labor is organized and managed consists primarily of the following:

## 1. Labor Planning

The labor plan is an integral part of the unified production-technical-financial-social plan of the enterprise. The enterprise formulates its labor plan on the basis of the production-business task assigned under its plan, on the basis of labor quotas, work time and so forth. Enterprises that have a labor plan must use the amount of labor currently employed as the starting point in the formulation of the production-technical-financial-social plan of the enterprise. As long as one person does not have a job, the effort to find jobs must continue so that labor is being utilized in a way that is rational. This is the latest viewpoint concerning the formulation of the labor plan at basic units. This view stems from the requirement and responsibility of insuring that every person who is able to work has the right to a job and an obligation to work, that no person is without a job or receives income from something other than labor, other than in accordance with labor. This is compliance, in the practical sense, with the principle of formulating plans from the basic level upward with the aims of fully developing each supply potential of the basic unit and establishing balance between supply capabilities and needs in all areas, beginning at the basic unit. This view is also based on the purpose of guaranteeing the autonomy of the basic unit in production and business, namely, having the basic unit join with the state in vigorously developing the strengths of the entire country as well as each locality, especially each basic unit, by making the greatest possible use of all labor and raw materials and expressing, as clearly as possible, the special principle of socialism, the principle of democratic centralism in management, thereby maintaining the unity of the socialist economy while upholding the rights and obligations of collective ownership of the basic economic unit.

## 2. The Hiring of Labor

The enterprise has many job positions. The standards of the workers in each position must be consistent with the requirements of their task. The enterprise must hire workers who possess the necessary knowledge and skills, the sense of organization and discipline, the spirit of responsibility and good work methods.

--On the basis of a carefully calculated labor plan, the enterprise has the authority to decide to hire labor to establish a labor force that is rationally structured from the standpoint of male and female workers, age groups, occupations, specialized standards, technical skills, professional standards and the health of each type worker in accordance with the requirements of production and business. The enterprise itself announces its labor needs and selects whom to hire. The enterprise can also sign a contract with the local labor agency to have the agency select or introduce persons to the enterprise for it to consider for hiring. The enterprise has the authority to refuse to accept persons introduced by any place for which the enterprise does not have a need. The purpose here is to correct the problem of the number of workers employed rising uncontrollably as a result of being forced to accept labor, as a result of assigning and utilizing labor in a haphazard manner, in sectors and trade for which workers were not trained...

The enterprise has the obligation of complying with the state policy on the management of the labor pool. With difficulties still being encountered in supplying grain and food and a shortage of jobs existing in the municipalities and cities, the state is redistributing labor and population on a nationwide scale and within each locality. Every enterprise must voluntarily contribute along with the state to resolving this situation by hiring labor within the areas and from the pool of persons stipulated by the state and locality. Generally speaking, enterprises located in municipalities and cities must not go about hiring agricultural labor in a manner that suits convenience, thereby increasing the size of the non-agricultural population and increasing the burden on the national economy.

The enterprise has the obligation of implementing the policy of the party and state of giving priority in its hiring of labor to the families of war dead, families who have served the revolution and wounded veterans and accepting in appropriate jobs persons who can meet the basic requirements of production and business. In traditional trades that demand technical skills, such as mining, forestry, mechanical engineering, sculpting, model making and so forth, priority must be given to hiring the children of workers in order to establish a corps of workers that spans many generations, a corps in which skills are handed down from father to son. If an enterprise has an indispensable need for a highly skilled worker or a worker in a high grade (welder, refrigeration mechanic, crane operator and so forth) but such a worker is not available within the district, precinct, province or municipality, this worker must be hired in a different locality. The worker has the right to ask to quit his job in the cases of being sent to specialized schools of the state or encountering personal difficulties that the enterprise cannot help him to resolve. The enterprise has the right to fire workers in the cases of having to reduce the scope of its product line or disbanding the enterprise, after making an exhaustive effort but not being able to find other jobs for these workers. These rights are concretized in the current regulations of the state. It is necessary to emphasize the obligation that the enterprise has to workers who must be fired when it becomes necessary to reduce the scope of the enterprise's main production task. Most importantly, each enterprise must take the initiative and look for every area in which labor is needed to provide suitable jobs to workers who are displaced from main production lines. In the labor and population redistribution plan of the locality, the labor agency has the responsibility of helping enterprises to redistribute labor from places where there is a surplus to places where there is a shortage or from the state-operated sector to the collective sector. In the cases in which it is temporarily not possible to provide persons with jobs in the trades for which they were trained, the enterprise must reluctantly fire these persons so that they can look for work. However, the enterprise must pay them an appropriate allowance so that they do not suffer any personal losses and a burden is not placed upon society. It is also necessary to emphasize the obligation that the worker has to the enterprise when the worker volunteers to work at a remote place where living and working conditions are not good. There are still many areas in our country that have rich natural resources. However, these resources are not being fully developed. Labor must be drawn to these areas from densely populated areas. This serves both the highest interests of the country and its long-range future. At present, we still face difficulties. However, the state cannot simply rely upon psychological

motivation, particularly in the case of youths, but must also make many efforts to apply necessary economic measures, such as subsidies in addition to wages and other benefits...

A progressive approach that must be tried on a pilot project basis and gradually expanded is the use of contract labor. This system is based on labor performed voluntarily, consciously and of one's free will, based on the requirement that there be absolute unity between rights and obligations, between responsibility and authority. The employer and the worker discuss what needs to be done as equals, reach agreement and make commitments to each other on the basis of conditions advanced by each. The enterprise director must take into consideration the nature of and the amount of time needed for each job in order to determine which jobs require a long-term contract and which a short-term contract (1, 2 or 3 years) or a temporary, seasonal contract. Persons are not automatically hired to a "lifetime" position as was the rigid practice in previous years. Contracts can be signed with all types of labor (general labor, technically skilled labor, engineers and specialized, professional cadres). In the case of specific jobs that take only several days to one-half month to complete, the two sides can enter into a "verbal contract." Generally speaking, written contracts should be used in all other cases. The terms set forth in the labor contract encourage the employer and the worker to exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations to the other side for the sake of the common interests of the country. Once the state has widely applied the labor contract policy, this policy can be implemented at remote places, including for persons going to these places in fulfillment of their labor obligation. Because this is something new, the state must conduct a pilot project in 1986 to gain experience.

### 3. Organizing Labor in a Rational Way

The purpose of the organization of labor is to put labor on a regular basis, thereby helping to raise labor productivity. Because their management has been based on state subsidies, very many enterprises have not concerned themselves with perfecting each aspect of the organization of labor and have not fully realized the importance and significance of the organization of labor in management as a whole or the specifics involved in organizing labor. In more than a few cases, the hourly productivity of the individual worker is not very low but the daily, monthly and yearly productivity of the worker, especially the productivity of the entire enterprise or sector, are very low. This is due not only to the worker, but also partly to the organization of labor and the management of production. Today, as we institute economic accounting and socialist business practices, the enterprise has the conditions needed to correct this problem. Because, generally speaking, organizing labor in a way that is rational does not cost much but does yield returns quickly and, in some cases, also yields good returns for technical investments. The primary purpose of organizing labor in a rational way is to make good use of equipment and machine capacity and the labor force in order to increase output and achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency. The organizing of labor at basic economic units consists of establishing a division of labor and assigning jobs to labor in accordance with job titles, standards and the sectors and trades for which labor has been trained; establishing cooperation in labor on the basis of a balanced ratio between one group of production

workers and another, between primary workers and assistants, between workers and the management apparatus; adopting rational and progressive work methods, methods which guarantee high quality, high productivity and high efficiency; maintaining labor discipline; establishing labor quotas; adopting various forms of piecework wages and material and psychological incentives; adopting plans to provide training and improve the manual skills of labor in production and work; adopting a labor protection and technical safety policy and improving working conditions; organizing a socialist emulation movement; preparing production conditions well and supporting each work place well. Organizing labor entails a system of measures designed to develop and make good use of the potentials that lie in labor and make the fullest possible use of production facilities in a way that guarantees an increase in the labor productivity of each person, each worker collective and the entire enterprise.

Each measure entails separate requirements and factors that must be researched in detail as specialized scientific subjects so that they can be gradually applied in a manner consistent with the characteristics of each enterprise in the different economic and technical sectors. The state guides the organizing of labor primarily by means of models and suggestions. Which forms and methods of organizing labor are most effective and which should be applied are determined entirely by the enterprise.

It must be emphasized that organizing labor in sections and units is especially important in production. This form of organization must be expanded in practically all sectors, such as capital construction, agriculture, fishing, industry and so forth. Above everything else, it is well suited to the organizing of production by objective, organizing many persons in the production of one product. We can consider this an important program in the struggle to increase the activism of the worker in his social activism. In tightly organized production sections and units, the new socialist qualities and the relations of friendship and mutual assistance among workers are easily formed. In labor and social activities, each person has a responsibility to the collective and the collective has a responsibility to each person.

#### 4. Providing Training and Improving the Skills of Workers and Cadres in Production and Work

The cultural, scientific and technical standards of each person, the skill level of the worker and the specialized and professional standards of management cadres and personnel play a decisive role in product quality and the quality of work. The worker has the right and obligation to constantly improve his skills and raise his standards in his specialized field. The enterprise has the right and obligation to establish a plan, fund and program for providing training and raising the standards of the worker, particularly young workers, in order to meet the qualitative requirements of production and business better with each passing day. In addition to organizing training at the enterprise after work hours, the enterprise can also sign contracts with trade training schools, colleges and vocational middle schools, assume training costs and take back the persons sent to these schools for training. Through skill training and skilled worker testing movements, the enterprise should periodically inspect the skills of and recertify workers, cadres and



personnel in light of the requirements of their job grade and the requirements of production. It is necessary to gradually "intellectualize" the corps of cadres and workers, especially at enterprise that have modern machinery, equipment and production technology. Retraining must be promptly provided whenever a new occupation emerges or whenever jobs are changed, especially in the case of workers and cadres who were assigned to jobs in sectors and trades for which they were not trained and whom it has not been possible to reassign to another job.

#### 5. Setting Well Based, Rational and Progressive Labor Quotas

In economic accounting and socialist business practices, economic-technical quotas, in general, and labor quotas, in particular, occupy a position of key importance. These quotas must reflect the average amount of social labor that need be expended and provide the enterprise with a solid base from which to calculate costs, organize labor, assign jobs to and pay manual workers and civil servants, calculate profit and loss... At present, we have state quotas and sector quotas for a number of jobs. The enterprise has the responsibility of organizing the implementation of these quotas and helping to augment them and make them more complete. However, the number of these quotas is still small. The state and the sectors will continue to formulate and issue quotas or standards for universal jobs that are not now governed by quotas. In the immediate future, in addition to applying existing state quotas and sector quotas, each enterprise must formulate quotas by the methods in which it is instructed by the upper level and in accordance with its own organizational and technical conditions. In the production-business process and on the basis of newly discovered reserves and new advances in management, in the organization of production and labor, in the technical and industrial sciences of the enterprise, the enterprise director and the collective of workers must re-examine their labor quotas and rationally adjust them in the direction of endeavoring to raise labor productivity, reduce production costs and meet and exceed the productivity of the sector and society. In each job and stage of work and on the basis of the quotas originally set, the enterprise also calculates labor quotas for production in order to formulate the labor plan portion of the system of the enterprise's production-technical-financial-social plan.

#### 6. Wages, Material Incentives and the Implementation of the Principle of Distribution in Accordance with Labor

Concern for the material interests of the individual worker is an important force stimulating the development of the economy, the development of production. The personal interests of the producer cannot be satisfied if the efficiency of the entire system of social production is low, if the production-business activities of the collective do not produce high results and if the enterprise does not complete its state plan well. Therefore, it is necessary to thoroughly implement the basic principle of socialist distribution, distribution in accordance with labor. The wages and income of each person as well as those of each collective are dependent upon the quantity and quality of labor contributed by each person and each collective to society. The wage fund and the realized profits of every enterprise must

be closely tied to the returns from the enterprise's production and business, must be dependent upon the percentage of the assigned plan that is completed.

The first thing that the enterprise must do is compute the wage plan portion of its system of production-technical-financial-social plans on the basis of the standard wage policy of the state, the ceiling on the size of the management staff, labor quotas and job grades. The enterprise director has the authority to select an appropriate form of piecework wages to be paid at each work place and for each stage of production. Here, importance must be attached to correctly applying contract wages and collective piecework wages based on the final results of production. He has the authority to decide the salary and wage scale for the cadres, manual workers and civil servants under his management in accordance with the technical grade standards and professional standards of the state. The enterprise director also decides and inspects the distribution of wages and the various types of bonuses and decides the ration standards that apply in the sale of products at directed prices to manual workers and civil servants in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor contributed by each person and each collective to the final production results of the enterprise. The grain and commerce agencies must provide a full and timely supply of the products stipulated by the state to be sold in accordance with ration standards and at directed prices to manual workers and civil servants. The bank must insure that the enterprise is able to withdraw money deposited in the bank or borrow money in amounts determined by the percentage of its plan completed for the purpose of paying workers and civil servants on time. The enterprise director must insure that the worker is paid his full wage and paid on time.

The enterprise director has the obligation of complying with the bookkeeping and statistical-reporting policies of the state concerning labor and wages and presenting to the authorized level for its evaluation, approval and inspection the planned ceiling on labor and wage costs per product and the wage fund based on the ceiling on the size of the labor force. He must attach importance to organizing accounting and the analysis of the use and management of labor and wages within the various sections, units and shops and within the enterprise as a whole. The director and the enterprise trade union must manage the social insurance fund and make full payments from this fund on time. At the same time, they must manage the social insurance services for the worker within the unit and correctly implement the retirement and disability leave policies for those persons who fully qualify. In the case of skilled technical workers who have reached retirement age but are still in good health, are still making good contributions and are still needed by the enterprise, it should only be suggested that they retire when requested by an interested party.

#### 7. Improving Working Conditions, Establishing Technical Safety and Protecting the Worker

Working conditions, sanitation conditions and worker safety control the health of the worker and his ability to perform his job to a large degree. The enterprise has the obligation of strictly complying with technical safety codes, labor sanitation and safety rules and the regulations on the protection of labor that have been issued by the state and must always concern itself

with improving working conditions at work places, beginning at places where the work is strenuous, hot and involves toxic substances. It is necessary to effectively prevent the causes of poor working conditions and a poor work environment; adopt plans for building hygiene facilities to prevent occupational diseases and purchasing an adequate supply of personal safety equipment; and fully comply with regulations prohibiting the use of female workers and minors on jobs that are especially strenuous and hazardous, and prohibiting anyone from making a worker work around the clock, work an excessive amount of overtime and causing harm to the worker's health. All cadres and workers must be given an understanding of and taught to comply with regulations and rules on labor hygiene and safety, the protection of the environment and the prevention of accidents on the job. In cases in which the failure to respect the law on protecting labor, on labor safety and technical safety leads to serious harm to the health of the worker and serious damage to national property, culpability must be clearly determined and responsible persons must be harshly prosecuted. State agencies and trade union organizations have the right and responsibility to intensify their inspections, their investigation and control of the performance of this work at enterprises and should not consider this to be intervening too deeply in the internal affairs of the enterprise.

#### 8. Upholding Labor Discipline

Labor discipline is an exceedingly important factor of production and labor. One of the primary subjective causes of unnecessary losses, of the waste of work time at many basic units today is violations of labor discipline.

Our discipline is self-imposed discipline. The worker plays the decisive role in our discipline. The enterprise must insure that there is enough work for the worker to work continuously. It must gradually perfect its internal labor regulations and gradually establish strict quotas. It must assign specific tasks and responsibilities. It must praise and appropriately reward persons who respect labor discipline and complete their task in an excellent fashion. It must criticize and harshly deal with phenomena that reflect a lack of discipline. The collective of workers must strongly denounce in public persons who are very backward, are lazy, are irresponsible toward their work, are arrogant toward customers, violate socialist property and cause harm to their unit or an associated unit but do not express regret or rectify their mistake. After ascertaining the opinions of the Discipline Council, the enterprise must take appropriate disciplinary action. In necessary cases, the concerned person must be fired from his job at the enterprise. The right and obligation of the enterprise is to wage a determined struggle against everything that reflects a violation of the Code of Discipline so that everyone does better work and contributes much more to society.

#### 9. Socialist Emulation

The economic value of socialist emulation stems first from the fact that it taps the creativity of the individual worker and, through the public comparison of emulation achievements and the widespread application of advanced experiences, turns the experience of one person or one group into the common asset of each person with the aim of achieving higher social labor

productivity. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze, introduce and, more importantly, adopt plans for organizing the widespread application of the good experiences of advanced labor models, emulation warriors and labor heroes within and outside the enterprise. This is a virtually inexhaustible potential. The significance of socialist emulation as an important general factor in the socialist organization of labor lies herein.

#### 10. Increasing the Role of the Collective of Workers

The manual workers and civil servants of every enterprise form a social community of persons who are closely tied to one another by the results of their common labor, persons who cooperate in the process of working to achieve common objectives for the sake of the interests of socialism, the interests of the country, which include the interests of the collective and each person. The rights and obligations of collective ownership must be exercised and discharged most fully within the collectives of workers. There is the collective of workers of the entire enterprise and the collective of workers of each component, such as the production section and units, the shops and the functional offices and departments. Direct democracy is practiced most fully and easily within the collective of workers (the production sections and units) and through conferences of all the manual workers and civil servants of the enterprise. The collectives of workers have the right and obligation to actively participate in all decisions concerning the organization and management of labor within the basic economic units. When participating in the formulation of the production-technical-financial-social plans of the enterprise, the collective of workers has the right and obligation to discover potentials in order to develop production, practice economy, insure that everyone has adequate work, make full use of work time, make full use of machinery and equipment capacity...

The collective of workers (production section or unit) has the right to select the members and leader of its unit. The enterprise must survey the opinions of the collective of workers (the production section or unit) when transferring new persons to the collective. They have the right to elect and suggest that the enterprise appoint or remove the section or unit chief. They have the right not to accept persons who have been educated many times but still fail to rectify serious shortcomings and mistakes. The collective of workers has the right and obligation to regularly practice self-criticism and criticism. It has the right and obligation to contribute opinions concerning the selection, assignment and utilization of cadres, manual workers and civil servants, the application of the policy regarding awards and penalties and the assignment of jobs to workers displaced from production lines and primary jobs. It has the right and obligation to struggle against negative phenomena that harm the collective or other collectives, not only within, but outside the enterprise as well. The collective of workers has the right and obligation to discuss and participate in determining the measures to be taken to improve the organization and management and apply scientific and technical advances and advanced experiences and measures designed to meet and exceed economic-technical standards and quotas and achieve new advances in productivity and quality. It has the right and obligation to discuss and

participate in decisions concerning the distribution of wages and bonuses and the utilization of the enterprise's welfare fund.

The collective of workers has the right and obligation to discuss and decide the internal rules of the enterprise, which must be consistent with the laws of the state. It has the right and obligation to inspect and supervise production-business operations, the fulfillment of commitments and economic contracts and the implementation of economic and financial management policies and procedures by the enterprise director.

The enterprise director, who is both the leader of the basic economic organization and the leader of the enterprise's collective of workers, can only complete the tasks assigned to him by the state when he mobilizes and organizes the enterprise's collective of workers in specific efforts and actions. Therefore the enterprise director has the responsibility of creating every possible favorable condition for the various collectives of workers to exercise and fulfill the rights and obligations stated above. The trade union organization represents the collective of workers in periodically signing a collective contract with the enterprise director, which clearly states the basic rights and obligations of each party with regard to insuring that production and business are carried out normally and the responsibility of each party toward the commitments it makes.

The overall objective of the organization of labor and the management of labor within the enterprise is to achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency. The main forces behind the efforts to achieve this objective are the rights and obligations of collective ownership of each worker within the enterprise, from the enterprise director downward. Rights and obligations go hand in hand. For every right there is an obligation. Conversely, the more important the right is, the larger the obligation is. The director and the collectives of workers at the enterprise must know how to properly combine socio-economic organizational measures and scientific-technical measures with elevating the rights and obligations of collective ownership in an effort to achieve an average rate of increase in labor productivity that is higher than the average rate of increase in wages. This is the source of a larger social product, of higher income for the worker, of an improvement in the welfare of the people.

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## THE MAIN TASKS IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK TODAY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 44-49

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Recently, in keeping with the directives and resolutions of the party, we have recorded significant results and made a number of advances in our ideological work, thereby making important contributions to teaching and mobilizing the people of the entire country to make every effort to overcome each difficulty and bring about positive changes in socialist transformation, in economic and cultural development, in strengthening the security and national defense systems and in fighting to defend the fatherland. The resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee created a consensus and confidence among the mass of cadres, party members and people, inspiring everyone and every unit to struggle to dismantle the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, gradually establish and put into practice the new management mechanism and implement economic accounting and socialist business practices.

However, in the face of acute difficulties with the economy and living conditions, in the face of some mistakes and shortcomings in organizing and guiding the implementation of the economic policies of the party and state, there are signs of worry and concern among cadres, party members and the people, some of whom are pessimistic, are wavering and lack confidence. Some cadres and party members are subjective and impetuous. A number of others are conservative and slow to change. Within many agencies of the party and the state apparatus, we find not only bureaucratic centralism, arbitrariness and paternalism, but also liberalism, decentralization, localism and a lack of organization and discipline. The will to fight of a number of cadres, party members and state personnel has declined. Some have become degenerate and deviant. Negative phenomena within the party and in society are still very serious. Many persons are no longer vigilant in the face of the malicious rumors and psychological warfare arguments of the enemy.

Meanwhile, our ideological work has not been effective or incisive. In the face of difficulties and negative phenomena, in the face of strong changes in prices and the market and in social attitudes, the various party committee echelons and propaganda and training agencies have not promptly provided the necessary education and corrected the mistaken thinking and actions of a

number of agencies, units and individuals. They have not taken positive and effective steps to expose the methods of sabotage employed by the enemy. The effort to teach qualities and ethics to cadres, party members and the people is still weak. The struggle against negative phenomena is not producing the desired results. The discipline of the party is not strict. Compliance with the laws of the state is lax. The educational nature and the militancy of the activities of party organizations, state agencies and mass organizations are weak. Appropriate attention is not being given to self-criticism and criticism. Many party committees and organizations of the party, many cadres and party members do not have a full understanding of the importance of ideological work and have relaxed their leadership efforts on this critical front.

At present, our party and people are making every effort to perform the economic and social tasks for 1986, with the aim of gradually stabilizing the socio-economic situation and creating the conditions for development in subsequent years. At the same time, we are continuing to strengthen our national defense forces, strengthen our security, maintain combat readiness and fight to defend the fatherland against the acts of encroachment and occupation along the border and against the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy while fulfilling our international obligation in every situation. The various levels and sectors are actively preparing for and holding their party organization congresses and making preparations for the national congress of the party. These are very large and important tasks, tasks which must be actively and effectively supported by ideological work.

The objectives of ideological work at this point in time are to give everyone a clear understanding and correct evaluation of the situation; to show everyone our achievements as well as shortcomings, our advantages as well as difficulties; to achieve a higher consensus concerning the lines and views of the party and the emergency policies and measures aimed at stabilizing the socio-economic situation; to heighten the will to fight, the spirit of responsibility, the sense of organization and discipline and the exemplary, vanguard character of the party member; and to launch mass movements to overcome the difficulties being faced, successfully implement the positions and policies of the party and record achievements in celebration of the party congress.

Specifically, ideological work must focus on performing the following main tasks well:

First, mobilizing the masses to emulate one another and make every effort to restructure and accelerate production, achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency, actively build and implement the new management mechanism and guarantee the production and business autonomy of basic economic units.

Continuing to gain a thorough understanding of and implement the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum, the aims of which are to dismantle the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shift our efforts to building and implementing the new management mechanism and implement economic accounting and socialist business practices, are the basic guidelines of our party, guidelines that are in the nature of principles and

strategy. The various party committee echelons must confirm the correct guidelines and the profound revolutionary significance of the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum, point out the initial results that have been achieved and the shortcomings that have been committed in the implementation of this resolution in the recent past as well as the difficulties that must be overcome so that everyone has a clear understanding of, agrees with and is determined to successfully implement the position set forth by the Party Central Committee and Political Bureau. It is necessary to expose and refute the allegations and methods of sabotage of the enemy; necessary to criticize attitudes and tendencies that are wrong, such as being pessimistic, wavering and lacking vigilance, being subjective and impetuous or being conservative, fearing difficulties and wanting to return to the old mechanism; and necessary to eliminate phenomena that reflect bureaucratic centralism or liberalism, decentralization and localism. At the same time, it is necessary to prevent other deviations that might occur.

In the work of propagandizing and disseminating the important tasks of the 1986 socio-economic plan and the specific positions and measures adopted to insure the performance of these tasks, importance must be attached to explaining to the masses and encouraging them to make every effort to carry out the tasks of restructuring and accelerating production, especially agricultural and consumer goods production; practicing thorough frugality and closely tying the production and frugality movement to taking positive steps to build and implement the new management mechanism and guarantee and uphold the production and business autonomy of basic units; redistributing labor throughout the country; carrying out the socialist transformation of the market and managing the market and prices; reorganizing the management apparatus, restructuring the system of production and business organizations, reducing the size of administrative staffs, reassigning cadres...

Present circumstances being what they are, importance must be attached to teaching and heightening the sense of collective ownership, the spirit of responsibility and the sense of organization and discipline. Every person, every basic unit, every sector and every locality must display the consciousness "for the entire country, together with the entire country," make every effort to overcome difficulties, overcome each hardship and be determined to fulfill their obligations to work, produce, practice frugality, build socialism and defend the fatherland well.

Secondly, preparing for and conducting good party organization congresses on the various levels and advancing to the national congress of the party.

In contrast to previous congresses, this party congress is being convened against the background of profound changes in the domestic, world and regional situations, changes that have brought basic advantages in our favor but have also brought us face to face with very many difficulties, the largest and most obvious of which are: the economic situation, living conditions and social situation of our country are still unstable; shortcomings in guiding the implementation of the resolution of the 8th Plenum have made the distribution-circulation front and our work in the fields of prices, wages and money an even more pressing issue; and negative phenomena within the party and in society are still quite serious. On the other hand, because many of the



members of our party's corps of cadres are now elderly and frail and no longer have the health or the ability to continue to hold key positions, we must make a partial transition from one generation of cadres to another to insure continuity and succession in the leadership of the party. In view of this situation, we might encounter certain difficulties in preparing for and holding the party organization congresses on the various levels as well as the national congress of the party if we do not perform good ideological work. The party committees and propaganda and training agencies must explain to party members and the people the objectives and importance of this party congress. They must teach and encourage the entire party and all the laboring masses to display a high spirit of unity and consensus, a high sense of responsibility to the party and the country, focus their intelligence and participate in discussing and contributing many practical opinions to the drafts of the documents of the party congress and to the party concerning the common work of the country. Everyone must be taught the correct views and methods to be adopted and employed in evaluating the situation of our country's revolution, summarizing the achievements that have been recorded as well as the shortcomings and difficulties that still exist, drawing experience, continuing to concretize the party's line and clearly and correctly defining the objectives and tasks for the coming period.

The ideological work of the party must help to educate and give cadres and party members a correct understanding of what is involved in strengthening the leadership organizations on the various levels of the party with a view toward meeting the present requirements of revolutionary tasks and the requirement that we revamp the cadre work of the party. It must equip them with the correct attitude and methods with regard to selecting persons for the party committee in order to avoid that which reflects conservatism, opportunism, localism, departmentalism, a desire for personal status and other mistakes.

Ideological work must actively participate in the self-criticism and criticism drive to insure that this important drive produces good results in exact accordance with the requirements set forth by the Party Secretariat, brings about new changes throughout the party and makes practical preparations for the party congress. Through the practice of self-criticism and criticism, particularly through acknowledging and effectively rectifying shortcomings, we must restore and increase the confidence that party members and the masses have in the leadership of the party and the management work of the state, heighten the spirit of responsibility and sense of organization and discipline, strengthen the solidarity and unanimity within the party, and launch and promote a good emulation movement to record achievements in celebration of the party congress.

Thirdly, cultivating revolutionary qualities and ethics in cadres and party members and struggling against negative phenomena within the party and in society.

This is a pressing requirement, is an important aspect of the ideological work of the party because, within the party and in society, there are signs of a decline in qualities and ethics which has harmed the reputation and prestige of the party and reduced the confidence of the masses. Party committees must realize the serious nature of this matter and fully concern themselves with

teaching qualities and ethics to cadres, party members and the people. In particular, they must give their attention to cultivating in cadres and party members the thinking, stand and views of the working class; building their patriotism, their revolutionary will to fight, their spirit of responsibility and the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the fatherland and the people; cultivating in them the revolutionary virtues of "diligence, honesty and fairness," unquestioned loyalty to the interests of the party and people and the virtue of living a faithful and simple life close to the masses; and combating every manifestation of individualism and the styles of bureaucracy, bossism and remoteness from the masses. The struggle against negative phenomena, particularly the theft of socialist property, bribery, earning a living illegally and intimidating the masses, must be intensified. The pure, revolutionary way of life must be extolled. The pragmatic way of life, the pursuit of money and base desires as well as the influences of the Western, bourgeois way of life that are infiltrating our country's society, particularly among youths, must be strongly criticized.

The struggle against negative phenomena can only yield good results if each level and each sector concerns itself with this struggle and wages it everywhere through positive and resolute measures. In the self-criticism and criticism campaign in preparation for the party congress and in building and implementing the new management mechanism, the various party committee echelons must demand that cadres and party members, beginning with key leadership and management cadres, truly set a good example and take the lead in this work. Education must be combined with organizing revolutionary action movements of the masses. Ideological work must be combined with organizational measures, such as the harsh punishment of persons who violate the law, the replacement of corrupt cadres and the expulsion of degenerate, deviant elements, so that the party organization and administrative agencies are truly pure, solid and strong.

Fourthly, building the spirit of socialist patriotism and revolutionary heroism, raising the level of vigilance and waging a determined struggle against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists.

In view of the exceedingly reactionary nature of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and in the face of the complex developments in the world and regional situations caused by the imperialists and international reactionaries, ideological work must delve deeply into heightening the sense of revolutionary vigilance, strengthening our national defense and security and waging a determined and steadfast struggle to defeat each scheme and act of provocation, encroachment and occupation of the enemy along the border, defeat their wide-ranging war of sabotage and refute their psychological warfare allegations. Propaganda and training agencies must expose the schemes, tactics and reactionary nature of the Chinese reactionaries and show everyone that the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists continue to be the direct and dangerous enemy of our people, continue to collaborate with the U.S. imperialists in opposing and attacking the revolution of Vietnam. Their basic nature and policy have never changed. The stand of our party and state must be made clear, namely, that we desire peaceful coexistence and good neighborly relations with China, desire to peacefully resolve the issues in dispute but are determined to retaliate against each act of aggression and

sabotage of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. As long as they continue to pursue a hostile policy toward our country, our people and army must remain determined to fight to defend the fatherland.

It is necessary to educate all the people, particularly youths, in national defense; necessary to accelerate the movement to have all the people participate in maintaining security and social order; and necessary to heighten the effectiveness of the nationwide movement to reinforce the frontlines and build a solid border defense line.

Fifthly, educating everyone in our international obligation, teaching solidarity with the people of the world, opposing the arms race policy, the policy of aggression and the colonial policy of imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, and struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

International propaganda efforts must heighten the awareness of our cadres, party members and people concerning the basic international tasks of the forces of the world revolution and the foreign policy of our party and state. Attention must be given to presenting the achievements and experiences in socialist construction of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, extolling the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and exposing the bellicose nature and the aggressive, reactionary policy of imperialism, headed by the United States. It is necessary to analyze the position, significance and new achievements of the struggle for peace and disarmament, the struggle against the arms race policy of the imperialists.

In teaching about the foreign policy of our party, it is necessary to point out the importance of strengthening our strategic alliance and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and strengthening our special relations with Laos and Cambodia. We must expose the counter-revolutionary strategy of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region and confirm the correctness of our positions and policies to combat the Asia-Pacific strategy of the United States. In particular, ideological work must do a good job of teaching and heightening the sense of self-reliance, of not relying upon international assistance, and fulfilling our commitments from the standpoint of cooperation with the fraternal countries.

Strengthening the leadership of ideological work by the organizations of the party is the matter of foremost importance in increasing the quality and effectiveness of this work. The party committees and each cadre and party member must possess the consciousness of being the master and the ability to be the master on the ideological front, must assume direct responsibility for the state of the thinking of party members and the masses and must consider ideological work to be an important part of their leadership work. They must properly implement the guideline "the entire party performs ideological work" and closely combine economic leadership with ideological and organizational work.

Full importance must be attached to improving the themes, forms and methods of ideological work so that this work becomes an increasing part of life and is rich, interesting, highly militant and effective. Most importantly, it is

necessary to improve the quality of the activities of party committees and party chapters by holding discussions for the purpose of gaining a thorough understanding of the lines, policies, resolutions and directives of the party. When differing opinions exist, they must be discussed and conclusions must be reached in order to make a clear distinction between right and wrong and maintain unity and consensus within the party. At the same time, specific ideological and organizational measures must be taken to correctly disseminate and implement the directives and resolutions of the party.

The party committees must make it established procedure for each party committee member and key leadership cadre of the various departments, sectors and mass organizations to periodically meet with the laboring masses at basic units to explain to them the positions of the party and the policies and laws of the state; to keep abreast of changes in thinking, alleviate concerns, answer questions raised by the masses and correct deviations; to bring to light and popularize good methods and experiences; and to accept suggestions made by the masses to study and act upon them or to forward them to the responsible agency for a response and action. These are important measures in insuring that ideological work is close to life and helps to build closer ties between the party and the masses.

Clearly aware of the sharp and bitter nature of the struggle between ourselves and the enemy, between the two paths on the ideological and cultural front today, the organizations of the party must take greater initiative and be more effective when it comes to combating the enemy's schemes of sabotage. They must take measures to quickly make information available and must promptly bring to light and resolutely refute malicious rumors and hostile arguments. They must prosecute and harshly punish persons who spread malicious rumors and propaganda designed to sabotage us.

The party committees must strengthen their leadership of the corps of reporters and propagandists and make good use of party members, Youth Union members, members of the mass organizations, agencies of the state and facilities of the mass media in regularly broadcasting news, explaining policies, disseminating experiences, promptly criticizing incorrect thinking and actions and refuting the psychological warfare allegations of the enemy. Every cadre and party member must display a high sense of organization and discipline, speak and act in accordance with the resolutions of the party, set good examples for the masses and perform good propaganda work among the masses. The organizations of the press must improve the themes and forms of propaganda under the guidelines of improving the quality of information and promptly reporting the good experiences of advanced units and individuals, but not reporting only about achievements and advantages. They must avoid being hackneyed and avoid the malady of formalism. They must not say that something has been done before it actually has, must not say that something is widespread when it is not and must not say something that is not true. They must do away with all news that is formal in nature, is unnecessary protocol and attach importance to expressing the criticisms of the masses in the press. The practice of self-criticism and criticism in the press must be put on a regular basis. The press must be highly ideological and militant, must truly be a positive force stimulating the productive labor movement and stimulating

efforts to build and implement the new management mechanism, build a wholesome way of life and struggle against negative phenomena.

The party schools must intensify and improve the quality of cadre training in order to properly support the requirements of building the economy, transforming the old production relations, strengthening and perfecting the new production relations, building the new economic structure, revamping the management mechanism and strengthening the various party committee echelons. Together with news agency organizations, organizations of the press and publishing houses, the party schools have a very important responsibility in cultivating the qualities, increasing the knowledge and improving the style of leadership and work methods of cadres and party members. The party committees of the provinces, municipalities and special zone must intensify their leadership of the party schools in the areas of improving programs of instruction, improving the way that persons are selected to attend these schools, strengthening the corps of instructors and raising the training of cadres to a new level of qualitative development, one consistent with new requirements.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: SOME MATTERS TO WHICH ATTENTION MUST BE GIVEN IN THE MOBILIZATION OF WOMEN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 50-54

[Article by Nguyen Thi Dinh]

[Text] Women make up 56 percent of our country's social labor force and account for more than 60 percent of the persons working in agriculture, light industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, distribution-circulation, the cultural sector, education and public health. Deserving of attention is the fact that women make up a very high percentage of the persons who directly produce products and work at basic units. For example, women account for 60 to 80 percent of the persons working at cooperatives, production units, shops, hospitals, schools, stores, etc. Female cadres account for more than 50 percent of the cadres who have a middle school education and more than 30 percent of the cadres who have a college education.

In recent years, under the leadership of the party and with the assistance of state agencies, women have made enormous efforts and significant contributions to the country's revolutionary cause. Many installations, sections and units whose labor force consists almost entirely of women have completed their state plans for many years in a row. More than a few women cadres have displayed dynamism and creativity, brought their units through difficulties, developed production, maintained the standard of living of the worker and contributed more to the state with each passing day. In the face of the need to achieve higher productivity, quality and efficiency in production and work, the potentials of women are very large. However, many unresolved problems that have a direct bearing upon our efforts to develop the capabilities of women have been and are limiting the contributions made by them to our common work.

The 6th Congress of our party is about to be held. The women of Vietnam are confident that this party congress will lead to extremely important revolutionary changes. Facts have shown that the equality of the sexes brought to women by the revolution can only be maintained and built upon and the difficulties being encountered in production, work and the everyday lives of women can only be resolved on the basis of perfecting socialist production relations, carrying out economic and cultural development and stabilizing the standard of living under a correct socio-economic strategy. At the same time,

how well we meet socio-economic objectives and how well we carry out the programs and plans of the party and state depend, to a very important degree, upon how well we develop the enormous potentials of women.

To develop the role and capabilities of women in the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, we hereby present a number of problems for the congress to consider and adopt guidelines for resolving.

#### 1. Improving the Working and Living Conditions of Women and Providing Jobs to Women

Participating in productive labor in society is a very important premise to raising the standards of women and achieving equality between men and women. However, in our country, the process of women widely and rapidly participating in productive labor in society has occurred mainly in war time, mainly under the conditions of an undeveloped economy in which production is mainly strenuous, manual labor characterized by very low social labor productivity and it has not been possible to expand collective welfare projects in order to reduce the woman's burden of household work. Therefore, despite concern on the part of the party and state, the working and living conditions of women are, in actuality, still very difficult. Implements and draft power are still in short supply. Machinery and factories are old. There is a very serious shortage of equipment to provide even a minimum amount of labor sanitation and labor safety equipment. Raw materials, fuel and building materials are supplied irregularly and so forth. This situation plus the fact that the distribution and utilization of female labor are irrational in many respects have made it necessary for women to work hard, to expend much labor but still work with low productivity, especially during the agricultural season, at times of natural disasters or during the final months of the quarter or year. On the other hand, living conditions, the state of development of transportation, household work, the education and medical care of their children and so forth also consume more than a small amount of women's energy, especially women whose husbands are far away. It can be said that three heavy burdens--productive labor in society, the subsidiary economy and household work--rest upon the shoulders of women. Women are rarely able to further their education, rest or relax. Their standards are being raised slowly while their health is rapidly deteriorating.

In the countryside, female labor is performing the major portion of the work involved in producing grain, food products, agricultural products for exportation... Although their living conditions are more stable than previously, their working conditions are still very difficult and strenuous. At some times and places, they are forced to pull plows in place of buffalo. On top of this, some essentials, such as cloth, mosquito netting, soap and lantern oil, are still in very short supply. The mobilization of labor under the labor obligation is still haphazard. At some places, more than 60 workdays are deducted from women each year for this purpose. In addition, the disproportionate distribution of labor between men and women in some areas has also caused some social phenomena that are deserving of concern.

The above are the problems that are limiting the productivity and efficiency of those women who have jobs. But the greatest concern of families, of

society is the fact that a considerable percentage of women do not have a job. This is the common problem of society. However, to women, this difficulty is even larger because the thinking of being hesitant to use female labor is still quite widespread. At a time when the pool of male labor is limited (because the country must perform two strategic tasks) and despite the fact that female labor possesses capabilities that are well suited to many sectors and trades, some places still utilize female labor reluctantly, utilize it on a temporary basis and only for the purpose of meeting immediate needs. They lack determination to train, support and care for female labor so that women workers can be effectively utilized on a long-term basis. This is a large waste of potentials of the country.

Of course, to utilize the capabilities of female labor in a manner that yields high socio-economic returns, the functional agencies must, as part of their management of labor, in general, conduct scientific research programs to deeply and comprehensively analyze the special characteristics of female labor. On this basis, policies, plans and measures must be adopted for rationally distributing and utilizing female labor within the different sectors, trades, economic zones and regions of the country and to train women laborers, protect them on the job and look after their living conditions. Very little has been done by way of projects to research the work environment of women, their working conditions, the nature of their work and their living conditions, particularly women in the countryside, in order to adopt appropriate policies and measures. Although our party has established agriculture as the front of foremost importance, in many plans for the development of agriculture, forestry and fishing, very little attention is given to policies and measures concerning the human factor, which is the decisive factor in raising crop and livestock yields.

## 2. Implementing the Female Cadre Policy Better

The right of ownership of the laborer must not only be upheld in production, but must also be exercised by participating in the management of and directly managing production. In this field, the number of women is generally small, is not commensurate with the role and contributions of women. In many sectors, women make up more than 60 percent of the labor force but women cadres only hold from 5 to 10 percent of leadership positions. As a result, efforts to encourage innovations and tap the experience of the women who directly participate in productive labor as well as promptly resolve the difficulties being encountered by them have also been somewhat limited.

During the past 2 years, the implementation of Party Secretariat Directive 44 concerning a number of matters of pressing importance in female cadre work has brought about some changes. Realizing the need for female cadres to help to strengthen the leadership provided by the party and state in every field, promote the women's movement and further strengthen the ties between the party and state and the masses, the various levels and sectors have taken practical steps to improve their female cadre work. The number of women brought within the scope of planning and sent for training has risen. In 1985, women cadres accounted for more than 14 percent of the enrollment at regional party schools, a 6 percent increase over 1984. Some 28.6 percent of the persons recently elected as delegates to the provincial and municipal people's



councils are women (during the previous council term, only 22.5 percent were women). Twenty women have been appointed to serve as vice chairmen or secretaries of provincial and municipal people's committees (during the previous committee term, only seven women were appointed to these positions). Hundreds of women have been promoted to the positions of head or deputy head of services, departments and sectors on the local level, the staff departments, line departments and institutes in the ministries, the federations of enterprise, enterprises, corporations, etc.

However, these are only initial results. There are still many basic units that know nothing about party Directive 44. Even in units that have a thorough understanding of Directive 44, the planning and training of female cadres are still limited in many ways. Of the women who have been promoted, few have made an impact. The struggle against prejudices, narrowmindedness, conservatism and unfair treatment of women cadres continues to be a process that demands close and constant leadership by the various party committee echelons. In the face of the requirements that we revamp the economic management mechanism and revise our economic thinking, it is particularly important that the party committees concern themselves with training and helping female cadres to work in a more dynamic and effective manner and achieve larger results.

### 3. Building Families of the New, Socialist Culture

The issue of achieving equality between men and women and the issue of developing the role of women as the masters of society as well as their ability to be the masters of society are inseparable from building families of the new, socialist culture. The family not only has an impact upon the life and work of the woman, but also plays a direct role in the formation of the new, socialist man and way of life. The realities of socialist construction in the fraternal countries show that in the process of the industrialization of the country, socio-economic conditions have a profound impact upon the nature, structure and function of the family and upon family relations. If the party and state do not implement a system of measures designed to build the family in a manner consistent with the new historical conditions that exist, the family will easily be destroyed, which will be accompanied by a host of serious economic and social consequences. The 27th Congress of the CPSU viewed the family as one of the most important pillars of society and made strengthening the stability of the family a task with which all state agencies and social organizations must fully concern themselves.

In our country, the family issue has always had the full attention of the party and Uncle Ho. The victory of the revolution shattered feudal relations within the family and created the conditions for the formation of the new style family. However, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, the new style family cannot come into being if we do not organize scientific research into the new problems arising within the family so that appropriate positions and measures can be adopted. Sometimes, the rules of society are broken even within the family, thereby creating disorder for society. During the past few years, cases stemming from family friction have accounted for a high percent of the number of violations of the law, thus sounding a warning very deserving of attention.

#### 4. Planned Parenthood and the Preparation of the Future Generation

In the old society, the family's function of bearing and raising children was fulfilled in a spontaneous fashion. In the new society, with our sense of being our own masters and through the achievements of science, it is both necessary and possible to adjust the process of population growth to be consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the country's economy. Our party and state adopted a policy concerning this issue more than 20 years ago. Today, however, the population continues to grow quickly, thereby exacerbating the imbalances in every area of society. The population issue must be addressed in a clearer and more resolute manner. The scientific and practical foundations of the policy that each family have no more than two children must be clearly explained. This is a mandatory limit imposed by the economy, is an urgent measure aimed at raising per capita income. It also represents an humanitarian view that is based in both science and practice. But the objective mentioned above cannot be achieved if we only stress the factors of psychology and habit and do not take positive, determined measures to limit the number of births. The state must make appropriate investments in propaganda and education, in the application of scientific measures in order to encourage and create the most favorable conditions possible for each family to consciously limit births to a number consistent with the requirements of society.

Our state and society must effectively regulate human reproduction, not only from the standpoint of quantity, but quality as well, with a view toward creating a future generation that possesses the physical strength, spirit and intellect needed to meet the very high requirements of the new period. The youths who will build socialism and defend the socialist fatherland in Vietnam in the early years of the 21st century are the children who are in kindergartens and child care centers today and the children who will be born in the next 5 to 10 years. The malnourished children, the small, underweight newborns and the retarded children we see today are a cause of great concern. We must adopt a host of well-coordinated policies and measures designed to make our race more beautiful so that the future generation matures and grows in a manner commensurate with the historic tasks it will shoulder. The policy on pregnancies, the policy concerning mothers and children and the education of teenagers and children are specific, practical matters to which the state, society and each family must give its attention.

Solving the major problems described above is, of course, the responsibility of the Vietnam Women's Union, but not solely the responsibility of women. Our party and state have issued directives and resolutions concerning these problems but the implementation of these directives and resolutions has yet to yield the desired results. In addition to objective difficulties, there is a subjective cause of these problems, namely, the fact that many party committees do not have a thorough understanding of the views, line and policy of the party concerning the women's issue as part of the entire proletarian dictatorship system. The Political Report at the 5th National Congress of the Party stated: "To continue to promote the cause of women's liberation, to achieve equality between men and women and to further develop the role and capabilities of women in building socialism and defending the fatherland, the party committees must give all organizations within the proletarian

dictatorship system a thorough understanding of the party's views and policies concerning the mobilization of women."(1)

It is our thinking that in order for the party's guidelines, views and policies concerning the mobilization of women to become a part of life, they must be expressed in the form of programs and plan norms that are closely tied to the socio-economic programs of the state during each period and are supported by well coordinated political, ideological, economic, legal and other measures. The large scale and scope of women's issues demand that the party and state establish organizations tasked with deeply researching and proposing positions and measures for each period of time and inspecting and supervising their implementation. The parties and states of the fraternal socialist countries have experience in this matter. In our country, one of the reasons why the directives and resolutions of the party and policies of the state concerning women's issues have not been implemented well during the past 10 years and more is that we do not have such organizations. In addition, strengthening the organization and improving the mode of operation of the Women's Union in order to develop its role as the representative of the right of ownership of women are also matters that must be given attention when the party discusses mobilizing the masses and upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people.

We suggest that the major issues in the mobilization of women presented above be addressed in the proceedings of the upcoming party congress and hope that these party congresses on the various levels will mark an important change in the party's leadership of the women's movement--which is a matter of strategic importance to the entire cause of our country's revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dai hoi V,"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 131.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: CONCERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORESTRY INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 55-58

[Article by Phan Xuan Dot]

[Text] Through the creative application of the resolution of the 5th National Congress of the Party and the resolutions of the subsequent party plenums, our country has recorded major achievements in agricultural production, the forest industry and fishing. As for itself, the forest industry has undergone significant changes and made noteworthy advances in the forest business and in building the material bases of the forest industry, the direction of development being toward large-scale socialist production. In a shift away from placing heavy emphasis on harvesting while giving light attention to regrowth, we have intensified the development of the forest industry in the direction of combining harvesting with regrowth and building forest resources under the guideline of combining forestry and agriculture, with importance attached to strengthening and developing state-operated forces as the nucleus of the industry. At the same time, we have accelerated the assignment of land and forests to the laboring people in order to develop their role as collective owners in the protection and effective utilization of land and natural resources, widely implemented the guideline "the state and the people, the central level and the locality working together" and used the forests to develop the forests. As a result, in recent years, despite many difficulties and major imbalances in many areas of the industry, we have taken every conceivable measure and established new sources of balance in our labor, arable land and forest resources in order to implement the state plan on the harvesting and processing of forest products to meet the essential needs of the state. In particular, we have taken the initiative in revamping the management mechanism, carrying out capital formation and mobilizing capital for the planting of one-half million additional hectares of forests, thereby exceeding 50 percent of the afforestation target set by the 5th Party Congress and achieving the largest scale and highest rate of the planting of whole forests and individual trees every achieved. As a result of implementing the policy on assigning land and forests to cooperatives and the people and adopting stronger management measures, measures that closely tie responsibilities and authority to the specific interests of the state, the collective and the individual laborer, forestry production and the forest

industry have achieved a rather high rate of development. The federations, forestry sites, enterprises, scientific-technical research units and forestry service units have been operating in a more dynamic and creative fashion. They have put a stop to prolonged operating losses, stabilized their production and been achieving increasingly high returns in their business.

Looking back on the 5 years that we have spent implementing the line on building and developing the forest industry in keeping with the spirit of the resolution of the 5th Party Congress, we see that there are, besides the results we have achieved, many shortcomings that must be corrected so that we can continue to move ahead.

Due to the importance and role of the forests and forestry operations in the economy, culture, society, environment and national defense, forestry has been defined by the party and state as a level I economic-technical sector within the system of national economic sectors. In view of its abundant potentials, the forest industry should be strongly developed in order to actively support socialist construction and the improvement of the standard of living, particularly among the ethnic minorities who live near the forests. However, confusion with regard to solving the grain problem and developing the strengths that lie in the forests has led to the destruction of forests by clearing land for the cultivation of grain and other crops. On the other hand, shortcomings in forest management have allowed the forests to continue to decline in many respects and not much bare ground or much land in barren hills has been put to use. The quantity of wood harvested each year is small, and that which is harvested is not being utilized in a thorough and economical manner. The processing and use of forest resources are marked by much waste. Meanwhile, society's needs for forest products are steadily growing. Although the exportation of forest products and forest specialty products has exceeded plan quotas and increased rather rapidly, the results that have been achieved are still limited compared to the capabilities of the forests because of the many obstacles posed by the way exports are organized and by the export policy.

We realize that although the forest industry has made progress in many areas, progress that reflects positive change in the direction of revamping the management mechanism, in order to meet the requirements of life today and socio-economic development in the future, the forest industry must make a more positive effort to meet the following general targets:

--First, it is necessary to manage and protect existing forests, utilize them commercially in a rational way and closely tie the harvesting of forests to the use of forests to regulate and control the climate by means of the methods of forestry science in order to enrich forest resources and increase the output and quality of the natural and cultivated forests in an effort to annually harvest an average of 1 cubic meter of wood and firewood per hectare on all forest land.

--Secondly, it is necessary to cover with vegetation and make effective use of barren hills and mountains by many different methods and measures (including the planting of whole forests, the planting of industrial crops, the planting of individual trees at scattered sites, the zoning of forests for natural

growth and development, the building of forest stands, forest camps and so forth) in order to quickly build forest resources and increase the percentage of land covered by forests.

--Thirdly, it is necessary to step up processing operations, process raw materials for the purposes of making full and combined use of these materials and process tre bamboo, nua bamboo and other forest products and forest specialty products with the aim of increasing the variety of products and building materials available to serve the needs of the people.

--Fourthly, it is necessary to rapidly increase the output of exported products, particularly products processed from wood, forest specialty products, pharmaceuticals and valuable species of animal life...

By meeting the strategic targets presented above, the forest industry will rapidly increase forest resources and meet the requirements of protecting production and protecting the environment. At the same time, it will produce many more products to serve domestic and export needs and create new areas to which labor and population can be redistributed, thereby helping to improve every aspect of the socio-economic situation in mountainous, forest areas.

To strongly develop the forest industry in line with the four major targets presented above, we must implement a number of well coordinated policies and measures, with efforts focused on successfully implementing the following measures of basic importance:

1. To begin with, we must do a good job of reorganizing the forests and classifying the forests by objective and purpose (including the commercial forests, shelter belt forests and special youth forests). At the same time, we must divide the forests into a system of subareas (each consisting of roughly 1,000 hectares), with the subarea being the basic unit for the implementation of forest commercial management measures in accordance with a uniform, nationwide standard. This should also be the basic unit in the division of management labor and responsibilities as well as in the assignment of land and forests to cooperatives and the people to be managed by them and to basic economic units to be protected and used by them commercially in a way that is rational and in exact accordance with the planning, plans and policies of the state, thereby putting a halt to the abuses in the harvesting of the forests, which are damaging forest assets.

2. On the basis of the forests and forest land that have been assigned to each economic unit and the management standards and economic-technical plan established for each specific forest zone, state-operated units, collective units, army units, agencies and schools have the responsibility of organizing the protection and commercial use of the forests in the most effective manner possible. At the same time, they must fulfill obligations to the state and obligations defined under the law (the obligation to deliver and supply products to the state, the obligations to plant forests, allow forests to regrow, restore forests...). The amount of land and forests assigned must also be readjusted to be consistent with the business capabilities of each type unit and the different growth cycles of crops. In the past, forestry sites were usually too large. Now, each should consist of only 20,000 to

25,000 hectares. The average cooperative should be assigned four to five subareas; each production unit should be assigned one to two subareas; each household should be assigned a contract to protect and repair 1 to 5 hectares and so forth to insure that all forests assigned to cooperatives and the people are put to use. Once land and forests have been assigned, it is necessary to provide guidance, to organize production and business and periodically conduct inspections and evaluate quantitative and qualitative changes in natural resources, including soil fertility, so that timely corrective measures can be taken.

3. It is necessary to reorganize the production of and business in forest products along the lines of combining forestry, agriculture and industry, expand the various sectors and trades, particularly the processing of forest products, forest specialty products and products that combine agriculture, forestry and fishing and establish a general business with a view toward thoroughly developing potentials, creating additional jobs and employing much social labor (most importantly labor within the ethnic settlement areas). Facts show that, in recent years, the federations of enterprises, forestry sites and cooperatives that have organized a general business and opened many sectors and trades have employed much labor and achieved high efficiency. At the same time, they have created new capabilities and favorable conditions for resolving socio-economic problems well. At present, the labor participating in forest production only amounts to roughly 2 percent of the social labor force. Were we to organize a general forest business (on the 15 million hectares of forests and forest land), we could provide jobs to millions of persons.

In keeping with the above guidelines, it is necessary to restructure the forest industry and refine the system of production, business and technical service organizations and the administrative-economic management apparatus from the ministry to the provinces, districts and villages. It is also necessary to clearly define the functions and the scope of authority and responsibility of the sector and locality and guarantee the autonomy in production and business of each basic economic unit in keeping with the spirit of the resolution (draft) of the Political Bureau on "insuring the production and business autonomy of basic economic units." Special importance must be attached to strengthening the forestry management apparatus and the forest production and business organization within the district in order to help the district level to control the forests, effectively guide the management and use of resources and support economic construction and development targets.

4. The potentials that can be developed to achieve prosperity through forestry are very large. However, our management mechanism and system of policies do not truly provide strong incentive for the development of the forest industry. Therefore, in the years ahead, we must quickly codify the division of forest management labor and responsibilities between the central level and the localities and codify the business responsibility and authority in the use of forests and forest land of state-operated economic units, collectives and households as the specific parties in charge of a specific area of land or forest who have been assigned this land or forest by the state to use for commercial purposes or have accepted a contract from the cooperative to protect land or forest. The regulations on the organization of

the management of the forests and the forest business must reflect the principle of insuring that the forests are used for the correct purposes, that is, that the uniformity of long-term forestry planning is maintained and the forests are used in exact accordance with the commercial objectives of each type, while achieving the combined strength of the three different levels exercising ownership together and the three different forces working in the forests together. Whether the forests are assigned to state-operated units, collectives or households and even if they are used commercially by many units and forces, these units and forces must be structured and deployed as a large production formation and the forests cannot be cut up, fragmented or used in a haphazard manner.

Appropriate policies must be adopted concerning prices, procurements, goods delivered in trade, exported forest products and so forth, particularly with regard to the prices of forest products planted on barren hills, in the mountains, along the border and in newly settled ethnic minority areas. At places that are experiencing many difficulties, policies must be adopted that truly provide incentive and positive assistance in order to build enthusiasm among the people for production, solve problems related to living conditions and help to produce many products for society. If necessary, forest business income taxes can be deferred for one or two state business cycles to help localities and basic units make strong investments in building the forests and building material-technical bases in areas within the mountainous forests.

In view of the fact that investments by the state are limited and in order to strongly attract the large forces of the people, most importantly their abundant labor and the available sources of capital, materials and equipment within the localities and various sectors and among the different strata of the people, policies must be enacted that expand commodity trade between the mountains and the lowlands, expand the various forms of cooperation and economic ties and expand the ways that capital is mobilized and drawn from many different places in order to strongly develop the forest industry, particularly in those localities that have many natural resources and large amounts of land that are currently lying fallow. It is necessary to encourage the processing of products, processing to make full use of raw materials and the economical use of wood and other forest products.

Forestry operations, in addition to their significance as economic activities, also have broad cultural, social and environmental significance and affect the lives of many generations. Consequently, besides economic policies that closely tie responsibilities to immediate economic interests, it is necessary to widely teach citizens about the obligations they have in building and protecting the forests and necessary to strengthen and increase the effectiveness of the laws that pertain to the forests. At the same time, the state must soon adopt a policy that defines the specific obligations of the citizen in building the forests, protecting the forests and preventing and fighting forest fires, obligations which must be considered the same as the obligation to protect socialist property.

By performing the jobs described above well, we will surely unleash new forces stimulating the comprehensive and strong development of the forest industry, forces insuring that natural resources are harvested and utilized in a



rational manner, forces actively supporting economic construction and the strengthening of the national defense system within our country.

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TOWARD THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE PARTY, CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY IN THE INITIAL STAGE IN OUR COUNTRY: THE POPULATION TOWER AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN WITHIN EACH LOCALITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 59-63

[Article by Do Long]

[Text] To take the initiative and display creativity in production and business and make the most efficient use possible of the potentials that lie in labor, arable land and the other strengths when formulating socio-economic development plans, the localities must establish population towers and consider them to be scientifically based projections.

Establishing population towers is one of the foremost measures employed in a basic investigation of existing and future potentials of the human factor in the population from the standpoint of both the quantity and quality of labor. Through this approach, we can see the different starting points, special characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of each locality. As a result, the formulation of both immediate and long-range plans is not only consistent with the political line and economic development guidelines, but is also compatible with actual circumstances and real conditions within the state economy and the collective economy.

From a population tower, we can very clearly see specific figures, see the material, spiritual and cultural needs of the masses that are emerging each day. Through positions and policies, leaders must promptly meet these needs in the present stage. They must also address these needs in a serious manner in our socio-economic development strategy for the period between now and the year 2000 and subsequent years.

By making a population tower for each locality, the various leadership and management levels will acquire one of several practical bases for directing, guiding, inspecting and approving the plans of subordinate units. And, it is also on this basis that they can formulate, adjust and unify the plans on the level of which they are in charge. This gradual approach makes it possible to avoid the imposition of subjective desires, avoid illusions and curbs the shortcomings of impetuosity, hastiness and voluntarism. At the same time, this approach also makes it possible to take the guesswork out of the establishment of control figures, which have always been seriously unbalanced,

are never based on a specific starting point and for which there is no real possibility of fulfilling even many years later.

#### How To Build a Population Tower

In many countries, the population picture resembles a tower. In the developing countries, the base of the tower is broader, the top is more steeply pointed. In our country, the process of population growth also lies within the scope of this general law.

Building population towers for the localities is not a complex or difficult matter. The total population is divided into two blocs. Males are on one side, females on the other. The tower is divided by age group, from the youngest to the oldest, for example, from 0 to 3, 4 to 6, 7 to 9, 10 to 12, 13 to 15 and 16 to 18 years of age and continues in this manner up to the oldest person in the population. On each side, both the male and the female side, the number of persons in each age group is recorded as is the percentage that each age group constitutes of the total population during each 5 year period so that the status of each age group can be accurately determined. The following model can be used:

Males		Females
Percentage of the total		Percentage of the total
population in each age		population in each age
group		group
	16-18	
	13-15	
	10-12	
	07-09	
	04-06	
	0-3	
Total population		

#### The Population Tower and Economic Issues

As part of his responsibility for the material life of the people, for the fulfillment of grain and food product obligations to the state, for the distribution of welfare funds and for the accumulation of capital for expanded reproduction, the planner must take into consideration the total amount of grain and food products contained within his total output so that he can provide the standard of eating required by the different age groups of the population with a view toward replenishing the energies expended in labor. Plans for the development of the collective economy and the household economy must also take the population tower into consideration. Through this approach, it is possible to gradually satisfy the need for an adequate supply

of food, and then the need for good tasting food, the need for decent clothing, and then the need for clothing that is warm and attractive, the needs for land for housing and housing itself, as well as the need for housing of high quality, the need for means of transportation and roads... These needs will grow within the different age groups as the population moves ahead over the next 5, 10 and 15 years. According to the laws of nature, children grow up, become adults, marry and have children of their own. The material needs of the various segments of the population do not remain the same, rather, they increase as our society and our times advance. Reality clearly reflects an objective law that applies in both social life and the life of the individual: once needs have been satisfied, other needs that are higher, newer and more diverse immediately emerge.

The agro-industrial economic structure, the agro-forestry-fishing-industrial economic structures, structures that encompass both production and processing, that closely tie production to distribution...must be planned on the basis of the development of the population, most specifically on the basis of the figures related to the various age groups within the population tower. This means that we must arrange our organization and do business, must produce exports and import products with a view toward constantly raising our output and productivity so that we can meet the rising demands of population growth. We can only see the correlation between labor, on the one side, and land and existing material-technical bases, on the other, when we have constructed population towers that are scientific, specific and detailed.

#### The Population Tower and Labor Issues

The population tower enables us to obtain a clear picture and more correctly evaluate primary labor forces and their existing and future potentials. We are able to determine the structure of the sectors and trades within each locality; determine how many persons are working in agriculture, forestry and fishing; determine how many laborers are working in the handicraft trades; determine whether these laborers are old or young, men or women; and determine the percentage of the total population they constitute in the various age groups. We can determine the quantity and quality of labor in the different age groups and the different skill levels of each. We can determine whether the relationship between labor and land within each locality is truly balanced and whether or not this relationship constitutes a strength. We can determine what socio-economic managers must do to develop this strength. We can determine matters concerning intensive cultivation and rotation cultivation and changes in the allocation of crops and livestock from one stage of development to another. We can determine which sectors and trades must be developed in keeping with local tradition or habits or which must be brought in from other places in order to make full use of idle labor and labor that is displaced when machines are introduced in agriculture. All these matters must be planned on the basis of the population tower.

With serious imbalances having emerged in many fields of life, imbalances which will become more serious in the future if not promptly corrected, sending persons to build new economic zones is a matter that must be urgently addressed. Whether they are sent up to the North or down to the South, their movement must be very thoroughly and efficiently organized within the socio-

economic development plans of both the locality from which they are leaving and the locality to which they are going. Plans are realistic, are workable if the building of a population tower is employed as a method of foremost important.

#### The Population Tower and Education Issues

All children must be cared for and educated as they grow up. Everything from child care centers to kindergartens, basic general schools, middle schools, trade training schools, short-term academic and professional training...must be planned. The formulation of education plans must take into consideration the state of the economy and society and project the social returns from education in material and non-material production in the future. How many child care centers, how many schools and classrooms are needed? Should they be one or two story structures? How many toys, how much equipment, how much teaching and learning aids, how many books and so forth are needed to support, care for and instruct children? When drawing up a plan, child care governesses and teachers being trained and the conditions under which they will work must be taken into consideration so that the education of new workers for the next several years and the years thereafter is truly compatible with changes in the population as reflected in the population tower.

The sending of persons to short-term and long-term training classes in order to develop the sectors and trades within the locality with the aim of making full use of labor and the selection of persons attending middle schools or colleges to provide direct or indirect support must also be considered and projected for both the present and the years ahead. The budget and social welfare funds allocated for education as permitted by the capabilities of the national economy, of the collective, together with the contributions made by the people, must also be calculated in detail on the basis of the data contained within the current population tower and its natural and social development in the years ahead. One of the reliable bases in the formulation of the education plan in each village, each district and each province must be the projections on the development of the population made by means of population towers.

#### The Population Tower and Some Other Social Issues

Population towers that are specific and detailed do more than draw an overall picture of the size and quality of the population. They also supply necessary information on the number of elderly persons, retired persons, persons no longer able to work, war invalids, disabled persons, widows and orphans, persons afflicted with dangerous diseases, vagrants and homeless persons. The entire population, most importantly the social insurance agencies, must give thought to, concern themselves with and care for these persons.

When they become old, when they are sick or die, how are persons whose entire life was closely associated with the collective economy cared for by cooperatives? How should the social policies that apply to wounded and ill veterans, retired persons, families who have served the revolution, widows and orphans, the disabled and so forth be concretely expressed in the locality's

socio-economic master plan? Arrangements can be made for them to work at appropriate jobs in order to reduce the burden on society and avoid making these people feel that they are not needed.

Planned preventive medicine and medical treatment services must not only be directed toward the categories of persons mentioned above, but must also be provided on a priority basis to the persons who are currently working and the generations that are maturing and will come along in the future. The number of medical aid stations of each locality, the number of beds, the supply of medicine and public health implements, the number of nurses, physicians and doctors, the number of midwives and newborns and the related social policies in the present and the future as well...all must be determined on an objective basis, of which the population tower and its changes are a reliable element.

The cultural and social facilities of each population center, from the cultural hall, club, library, athletic field, swimming pool and soccer field to marketing cooperatives and state stores, repair shops and so forth, will be built in a rational way within each locality and yield the highest possible returns if their construction is based on the development of the population as seen through population towers and the changes that they show to be taking place each year and in each stage within the different age groups.

#### The Population Tower and Party Work and the Mass Organizations

As mentioned above, a population tower is an overall picture of the population situation and the changes that occur in accordance with the laws that govern population. From the perspective of building the party, we can see from a population tower--provided that it is detailed and specific--the number of party members in relation to the total population, in general, and each specific age group in each locality. We can see how many party members over the age of 18 are youths, women, collective farmers and elders. We can also see how many of these party members possess party consciousness and what their level of education and skills are so that we can have some guarantee that they will fulfill their leadership role within the mass organizations.

From population towers, we can also begin to evaluate the working class character of the party. We can see what the class background of party members is, the population influences they have been under and the reciprocal impact they have made upon the other strata of the masses. A population tower also provides accurate information on the age of party members, on the average age of each party organization and on whether there is unnecessary interruptions or a logical continuation of succession within the basic organizations of the party. In party building, the party can utilize the building of population towers as one of the scientific bases guiding its development.

In our society, as everyone knows, the mass organizations are organized on the basis of age group and occupation. A population tower provides a real picture of the number of persons in society in each of the different age groups. It is this number that must be drawn into the mass organizations. We must endeavor to make every individual within society a member of an organization,

be they young or old, be they from the lowlands or the mountains, be they employed or unemployed, be they the follower of a religion or a member of an ethnic minority.

Through population towers, the mass organizations must first establish plans for the development of their organization in terms of both its size and quality and look ahead to future changes that relate to the level of education and occupational standards of its members, to the physiological and psychological traits of its members and to the cultural-social environment in which the persons who are currently members or will be members will live.

One of the methods employed in social management and the management of people is to strengthen and increase the effectiveness of the activities of the organizations of the party and the masses. This management work must be performed with each specific step that is taken and must take into consideration changes that are occurring and will occur within the population.

Building a population tower is a commonly used sociological method in population studies. It not only indicates the current state of the population, but also accurately forecasts essential trends of development. The country's socio-economic plan and strategy for development over the long range must begin with the building of population towers in each locality as well as for the entire nation. The formation of scientific economic thinking, the adoption of a perspective that is farsighted and broad and the rejection of the shallow, fragmented approach will gradually be accomplished through the establishment of social development plans. Success in this process cannot be achieved without establishing population towers and recognizing the changes occurring in the population in accordance with the laws that apply in our real life.

7809

CSO: 4210/12

RESOURCE MATERIAL: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM, FROM ONE CONGRESS TO THE NEXT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 64-66, 75

[Unattributed article]

[Text] On 3 February 1930, the Communist Party of Vietnam was founded, thus bringing about a great turning point in the history of our country's revolution. Since then, the party has held five congresses. Each congress has been an important political event. Each has marked growth by the party and a new step forward along the path of revolution.

#### The 1st National Congress of Delegates

The 1st National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held in Macao, China, from 27 to 31 March 1935. Participating in the congress were 15 delegates, 12 of whom were official delegates representing the more than 600 members of party organizations at home and the party organizations operating overseas.

The congress examined the world situation, the Indochina situation and our party's situation during the years from 1932 to 1934. On this basis, it set the three main, immediate tasks of the entire party as: strengthening and developing the party; winning the support of and rallying the broad masses; and opposing imperialist wars. The congress adopted many important resolutions and adopted the statutes (amended) of the party and the statutes of the mass organizations. It ratified the declaration of the congress, a letter to the Executive Committee of the Communist International and letters to the central committees of a number of fraternal parties.

The congress elected a Party Central Committee consisting of 13 persons, including Ha Huy Tap, Phung Chi Kien, Hoang Dinh Giong...the Central Committee unanimously appointed Nguyen Ai Quoc, who was then working in the Soviet Union, as a representative of our party to the Communist International.

The 1st Congress of the Party was the congress that unified the party's organizational system from the central to the local levels, from our country to organizations overseas, that unified the revolutionary movement of each



stratum of the people under the leadership of the Party Central Committee. It created a new strength, brought renewed confidence to party members and the masses and charted the course of the revolutionary movement.

### The 2nd National Congress of Delegates

The 2nd National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held from 11 to 19 February 1951 in Vinh Quang Village in Chiem Hoa District, Tuyen Quang Province (present day Ha Tuyen Province). Attending the congress were 191 delegates, 158 of whom were official delegates representing the 766,349 members of the party throughout the country. At the congress, Ton Duc Thang delivered the opening address, Ho Chi Minh delivered the Political Report, Truong Chinh delivered a report "on the Vietnamese revolution" and Le Van Luong delivered the Report on Organization and the Party Statutes.

The congress discussed and unanimously approved the important reports mentioned above.

To keep pace with the development of the revolutionary movement of each country on the Indochina peninsula, the congress decided to divide the Indochinese Communist Party into three Marxist-Leninist parties operating in the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and decided to engage our party in overt activities and take the name Vietnam Lao Dong Party.

The congress elected the new Central Committee of the Party, which consisted of 29 persons. The Central Committee elected Ho Chi Minh party chairman and elected a Political Bureau consisting of seven official members, Ho Chi Minh, Truong Chinh, Le Duan, Pham Van Dong, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Chi Thanh and Hoang Quoc Viet, and one alternate member, Le Van Luong.

Truong Chinh was re-elected general secretary of the Party Central Committee.

The 2nd Congress was the congress of the resistance against the French colonialists. It set forth the correct line for uniting all the people, advancing the resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists to the resounding victory of Dien Bien Phu, restoring peace throughout Indochina and totally liberating North Vietnam.

### The 3rd National Congress of Delegates

The 3rd National Congress of Delegates was held in Hanoi from 5 to 10 September 1960. Attending the congress were 576 delegates, 525 of whom were official delegates, representing more than 500,000 party members nationwide. Many delegations from fraternal parties attended the congress.

Ho Chi Minh delivered the address opening the congress. Le Duan delivered the Political Report. Le Duc Tho delivered the Report on the Revision of Party Statutes. Nguyen Duy Trinh delivered the Report on the Guidelines and Tasks of the First Five Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy (1961-1965).

The congress discussed and unanimously adopted the resolution on the lines and tasks of the party in the new stage, the guidelines and tasks of the first 5-year plan, the Party Statutes and the Appeal of the Congress.

The congress elected a Central Committee consisting of 47 official members and 31 alternate members. The Central Committee re-elected Ho Chi Minh chairman of the Central Committee and elected Le Duan 1st secretary of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee elected a Political Bureau consisting of 11 official members, Ho Chi Minh, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Chi Thanh, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Le Thanh Nghi...and two alternate members Tran Quoc Hoan and Van Tien Dung.

The 3rd Party Congress was the "congress of socialist construction in the North and the peaceful struggle to reunify the country." As a result of the correct line adopted by the 3rd Party Congress, our people won great victories in the cause of resisting the United States for national salvation, liberating the South and reunifying the fatherland as well as in socialist construction in the North.

#### The 4th National Congress of Delegates

The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party was held in Hanoi from 14 to 20 December 1976 against the background of aggressor forces having been completely driven from our country and the fatherland having been reunified. The congress was attended by 1,008 delegates representing more than 1.5 million party members nationwide. The congress had the honor of welcoming 29 delegations from fraternal parties and national liberation movements.

Ton Duc Thang delivered the address opening the congress. Le Duan delivered the Political Report. Pham Van Dong delivered the Report on the Main Guidelines, Tasks and Objectives of the 1976-1980 Five Year State Plan. Le Duc Tho delivered the Report Summarizing Party Building and the Revision of Party Statutes.

The congress discussed and unanimously adopted the resolutions on the above mentioned reports, adopted the Statutes (revised) of the Party and adopted the general resolution of the congress and the resolution changing the name of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party to the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The congress elected a new Central Committee consisting of 101 official members and 32 alternate members. The Central Committee elected Le Duan general secretary and elected a Political Bureau consisting of 14 official members, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Vo Nguyen Giap, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Le Thanh Nghi, Tran Quoc Hoan, Van Tien Dung, Le Van Luong, Nguyen Van Cuc, Vo Chi Cong and Chu Huy Man, and three alternate members, To Huu, Vo Van Kiet and Do Muoi.

The 4th Congress of the Party was the congress of the total victory of the cause of liberating the nation, reunifying the fatherland and advancing the entire country toward socialism. The congress reviewed the entirety of the

people's national democratic revolution in Vietnam. It presented rich, profound lessons that served to light the way for the activities of the party in the new stage of the revolution. The congress clearly defined the path of development of unified Vietnam, decided the lines, guidelines and tasks of the socialist revolution and socialist construction throughout the country and ushered in a new era in our nation's history.

#### The 5th National Congress of Delegates

The 5th National Congress of Delegates was held in Hanoi from 27 to 31 March 1982. It was the first congress to be convened at the time stipulated in Party Statutes.

Attending the congress were 1,033 delegates representing more than 1.7 million party members at 35,000 basic party organizations nationwide. Some 47 delegations from communist and worker parties and revolutionary organizations in the world attended the congress. The delegation representing the CPSU was headed by M.S. Gorbachev, member of the Political Bureau.

Le Duan delivered the Political Report. Pham Van Dong delivered the Report on the Main Economic and Social Guidelines, Tasks and Objectives for the 5 Years from 1981 to 1985 and the 1980's. Le Duc Tho delivered the Report on Party Building and the Revision of Party Statutes.

In a spirit of serious self-criticism and criticism, the congress discussed, evaluated and deeply analyzed every aspect of the country's situation since the 4th Congress, pointed out the achievements recorded by our people and pointed out the difficulties being faced together with the shortcomings committed by our party. The congress established the two strategic tasks of our country's revolution as building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland. On this basis, it set four main socio-economic development targets for the initial stage of the period of transition in our country.

The congress elected a new Central Committee consisting of 116 official members and 36 alternate members. The Central Committee re-elected Le Duan general secretary and elected a Political Bureau consisting of 13 official members, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Van Tien Dung, Vo Chi Cong, Chu Huy Man, To Huu, Vo Van Kiet, Do Muoi, Le Duc Anh and Nguyen Duc Tam, and two alternate members, Nguyen Co Thach and Dong Si Nguyen.

The 5th Congress marked a strong change by our party in terms of its ability to lead and organize the performance of socio-economic tasks, the quality of the corps of cadres and party members and the close relationship between the party and the working class and all laboring people.

7809

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COMBINING TRANSFORMATION WITH CONSTRUCTION IN THE PROCESS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVIZATION IN TIEN GIANG

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 67-70, 96

[Article by Nguyen Trong Phuc]

[Text] Prior to liberation, agricultural production in Tien Giang Province had begun to assume the characteristics of capitalist commodity production. In the countryside, middle farmers made up the majority of the population (68-70 percent). Wealthy farmers and rural bourgeoisie were the direct exploiters. However, the force that controlled the most was the rural bourgeoisie. These being its special characteristics, Tien Giang waged an arduous struggle, was tested in many ways, tested at every step and challenged in practice and virtually completed agricultural cooperativization in 1984. By the start of 1986, the province had established 120 cooperatives and 2,116 production collectives, thereby bringing 93.3 percent of farm households and 94.7 percent of the land used to raise rice into collective production. Inspections conducted to evaluate and classify these units show that 25.2 percent of these cooperatives are advanced cooperatives, 41 are above average cooperatives, 28.5 percent are average cooperatives and 4.4 percent are weak and deficient cooperatives. Some 13 percent of production collectives are advanced production collectives, 31 percent are above average, 37.1 percent are average and 18.3 percent are weak and deficient. The income per workday of cooperative and collective members is 37 kilograms of paddy where income is the highest, 15 kilograms where average income is earned and as much as 7 kilograms where the lowest income is earned.

The agricultural cooperativization movement in Tien Giang has developed in a stable and wholesome manner as a result of knowing how to closely combine transformation and construction, with efforts focused on stimulating the strong development of agricultural production, considering this to be both the objective of and the driving force behind the development of the movement.

Through the pilot project conducted to build the Tan Hoi and Phu Quoi Cooperatives during the years from 1977 to 1980, it was found that because the material-technical bases of the cooperatives were very weak, because the contract mechanism within cooperatives was not providing the laborer with incentive to work hard for the collective, because the ability of cooperative cadres to manage and coordinate was poor and because the mass of cooperative

members did not yet possess a full sense of collective ownership, the production of the cooperative seriously declined, cooperative members encountered difficulties in their everyday lives and cooperatives were in danger of being disbanded. The province persisted in its effort to strengthen the pilot project cooperatives. At the same time, it actively prepared the conditions for establishing a number of cooperatives in Binh Tay, Binh Nhi, Tan My Chanh, Binh Phu, Than Cuu Chau... As a result of making good preparations and taking the correct approach, these cooperatives have made progress in many areas, developed production, achieved high productivity, improved the living conditions of cooperative members and drawn large numbers of farmers to collective production.

In conjunction with expanding the cooperativization movement, Tien Giang has also focused its efforts on guiding the widespread application of scientific-technical advances in production, especially at cooperatives and production collectives. The movement to apply science and technology in production began with the birth of hundreds of teams producing seed of new rice varieties, teams built around farmers who are skilled rice growers and assisted by the agricultural colleges. The province's plan called for introducing new varieties of rice in production on 60 percent of the land under the cultivation of rice by 1981. However, by 1980, 100 percent of old rice varieties had been replaced with new varieties. New varieties of rice and advanced intensive cultivation techniques rapidly raised the rice yields and output of cooperatives, production collectives and the entire province, thereby creating enthusiasm and confidence among farmers. The popularization of scientific and technical knowledge among farmers has had the effect of changing old attitudes and work habits while establishing advanced farming methods consistent with the process of reorganizing production within agriculture.

The province attached importance to the building of water conservancy projects at the very outset. In Tien Giang, some 60 percent of farmland was once rather heavily contaminated with sulfates and salt and many areas lacked fresh water during the dry season. The province has built thousands of large and small canals and ditches and combined the improvement of field surfaces with the construction of systems of area and plot embankments in order to provide effective irrigation and drainage, leach sulfates from the soil in the three western districts of the province and gradually establish sources of fresh water with which to provide effective irrigation during the dry season to the three eastern districts of the province. As a result of the development of water conservancy, the cultivation of floating rice in the northern portions of Cai Be and Cai Lay Districts was stopped and all farmland in the province, which was previously only used to raise one crop, became cropland on which two to three rice crops or two rice crops and one subsidiary food crop, even two rice crops and two subsidiary food crops, are being raised per year. Reorganizing production along collective lines both raised the need and created the conditions for mobilizing manpower and materials to successfully solve the problem of water conservancy in agriculture. Conversely, as a result of building water conservancy systems, intensive cultivation, multicropping and the use of new varieties were promoted, the development of production was stimulated and a base was established for the steady advance of the cooperativization movement. Clearly, the development of water conservancy

within agriculture is "the most necessary thing of all; it will rebuild the soil and water sources, bring the country back to life, bury the past and consolidate the gains made in the transition to socialism."(1)

Not much has been done yet by way of building the material-technical bases of the cooperatives and production collectives in Tien Giang Province. However, existing bases are being utilized well, including the system of drying yards and granaries, even with product contracts being used. In the high yield rice growing area, some 18,000 square meters of drying yards and granaries have been constructed. The mechanized draft power of the collective economy has increased by 1,500 horsepower. The fixed assets of cooperatives account for roughly 50 percent of their total capital. The cropland of cooperatives is used 1.82 times per year.

Since the issuance of Directive 100 of the Secretariat (5th Central Committee), all cooperatives and production collectives in Tien Giang have creatively applied and gradually supplemented the product contract mechanism within agriculture. Through the implementation of this contract mechanism, the new production relations in Tien Giang have been strengthened from the standpoint of ownership, management and distribution without one setback, not even a temporary setback. Product contracts, which represent a basic step forward in improving the management mechanism, have had the effect of causing agricultural production in Tien Giang to develop strongly and steadily.

The high yield rice growing area of Tien Giang encompasses 50,000 hectares (nearly one-half the total farmland of the province), 40,000 hectares of which produce a yield of 10 tons per hectare per year. This high yield rice growing area made important contributions to raising the province's rice output from 370,000 tons in 1976 to 813,570 tons in 1985 (a more than two-fold increase). Some three-fourths of the province's cooperatives and more than one-half of its production collectives are located within the province's high yield rice growing area. This shows that the results of socialist transformation at places where high yield rice growing areas are established exceed the results achieved at other places. The new production relations have also enabled the province to plan and establish a high yield rice growing area that is large and stable.

The socialist transformation of agriculture in Tien Giang has been closely tied to the process of building the new countryside, looking after the needs of cultural and educational development and improving the material and cultural lives of farmers. Since Tien Giang embarked on the cooperativization movement, the face of the countryside and every aspect of the life of the farmer has undergone many changes within the province. In the province's high yield rice growing area alone, 400 kilometers of new rural roads and many bridges have been constructed, thus making for convenient travel and reducing the distance between hamlets and villages. Schools have been opened for an additional 64,000 students. Theaters and cultural halls have been constructed at many places. Fifty additional maternity clinics and public health stations have been built in the countryside. More than 10,000 farm households have built new homes despite the very serious shortage of building materials. While these results are not commensurate with the development of production, it is clear that the majority of these gains have been brought about by the

collective economy. The new road system, the improvement in cultural life and the level of education and the steady changes occurring in the face of the countryside are of extremely important significance in transforming all backward attitudes and habits, bringing farmers to collective production and building their confidence in the future. Socialist transformation within agriculture has had a profound impact politically, culturally, socially, etc.

The agricultural cooperativization movement in Tien Giang has drawn large numbers of farmers into cooperatives and production collectives. However, there are still more than a few problems that must be solved in order to continuously improve the quality of operation of cooperatives and production collectives.

The cooperativization movement was only completed a little more than 1 year ago. Not much has been done to build the material-technical bases of cooperatives and production collectives. Generally speaking, these bases are still weak and do not insure the development of production in depth. Even at advanced cooperatives, such material-technical bases as drying yards, granaries, tractors, draft buffalo and cattle, pumps, rice threshing machines, means of transportation, welfare projects and so forth are in very short supply and are not being used with high efficiency. At average and weak units, the supply of material-technical bases is almost insignificant. This weakness in material-technical bases is partially the result of the failure of the locality (both the province and the district) to make appropriate investments in collective economic units. In recent years, Tien Giang has invested 30 dong in material-technical bases per hectare of farmland. Practically all of this meager amount of investment capital has been invested in water conservancy. On the other hand, the units of the collective economy still practice the monoculture of rice and have not developed a diversified agriculture or expanded the trades; therefore, there are even fewer sources of capital for building material-technical bases.

Rapidly building material-technical bases is a pressing immediate and long-range requirement, the aim of which is to insure that cooperatives and production collectives achieve high productivity and economic efficiency in their production. The province's policy for the years ahead is to try to provide a full supply of materials for production under economic contracts between the state and cooperatives and production collectives. At the same time, it will rapidly increase the amount of capital invested in the completion of water conservancy projects, the improvement of fields in coordination with the construction of rural roads and in supplying additional machinery and tools of all types, with priority given to selling building materials and loaning capital at low interest rates to cooperatives so that they can build material-technical bases.

Increasing the number of scientific and technical cadres on the basic level is also an objective and pressing demand of cooperatives and production collectives. At present, not one cooperative or production collective in Tien Giang has an agricultural scientific-technical cadre. Meanwhile, Tien Giang (mainly on the provincial level) has hundreds of engineers and middle level, agricultural technical cadres who are not working directly on the basic level. Scientific and technical cadres do not have close ties to basic production

units because they fear difficulties and hardships, but because the policy on the utilization of these cadres is irrational and because a rather large number of basic units do not realize the full role that scientific and technical cadres play in production. The province is sending scientific and technical cadres down to basic units. However, to resolve this problem on a long-term basis, the cooperatives must take the initiative and send persons to agricultural colleges and middle schools who return to work in the locality upon their graduation. This will help agricultural scientific and technical cadres feel secure about working at basic units on a permanent basis and will not increase the staff of the state within the agricultural sector.

The quality and efficiency of the production and business of collective economic units are dependent, to a large degree, upon the standards, capabilities and qualities of management cadres, especially cooperative directors, the heads of collectives and production unit chiefs. The experience of Tien Giang shows that in every unit that has a corps of dynamic, resourceful, creative and dedicated cadres who possess the spirit of responsibility, production is strongly developed, the right of ownership of the laborer is upheld, the masses feel a close allegiance to the collective, the standard of living is improved, obligations to the state are fulfilled and good economic relations are maintained with the state. The realities of the Binh Tay Cooperative, the Binh Nhi Cooperative, the Tan My Chanh Cooperative, the Tan Hoi Cooperative, the Than Cuu Nghia Cooperative, Long An Village Collective Number 1...have proven this. In weak and deficient units, the common problem is that cadres lack the necessary education, lack the necessary economic management and scientific-technical qualifications and their personal qualities have usually degraded to the point where they are irresponsible, bureaucratic and arrogant, where they intimidate the masses, disregard discipline and the law and drink to excess. These phenomena still exist because "the corps of cadres and party members on the basic level has not been trained or assigned in a manner commensurate with a broad revolutionary movement and has not fully upheld the right of collective ownership of the laboring people." (2) To correct these shortcomings, the province is determined to take action against and replace those cadres who are weak from the standpoint of their abilities and personal qualities. On the other hand, it will actively provide cadres with all the knowledge required under the new management mechanism. The province's cooperative management cadre school will train cooperative and production collective cadres. However, of decisive importance is the need to build a dependable corps of cadres at each basic production unit by selecting persons for this corps from within the mass movement.

Another limitation of the agricultural cooperativization movement in Tien Giang is the failure to establish uniformity among collective economic units. Besides the many units that are above average and excellent, there are still more than a few weak and deficient units that are operating at a loss, particularly production collectives. At present, as many as 400 production collectives are weak and deficient because their material-technical bases are woefully inadequate, their natural conditions are unfavorable, their size is too small, their farmland is fragmented and they are still confused and ineffective in their management, using primarily non-specific contracts and practicing the monoculture of rice. To correct these shortcomings, the



province and the districts are sending cadres to weak and deficient production collectives to strengthen and improve the quality of the operations of these units. The efforts to strengthen and improve the quality of the operation of basic production units are directed toward formulating accurate plans from the basic level upward, expanding and improving the product contract mechanism, ending the use of non-specific contracts, developing a diversified agriculture and general business, expanding joint businesses and economic ties and gradually making the shift to economic accounting and socialist business practices. At present, strengthening and improving the quality of the operation of the weak and deficient production collectives is the central task in the cooperativization movement of Tien Giang.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 43, p 239.
2. Excerpt from letter from the Party Central Committee to the party organization and people of Tien Giang on 1 January 1985 on the occasion of Tien Giang's virtual completion of agricultural cooperativization.

7809

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## HO CHI MINH CITY STEPS UP SMALL INDUSTRY AND HANDICRAFT PRODUCTION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 71-75

[Article by Tran Xuan]

[Text] Small industry and handicraft production is one of the strengths of Ho Chi Minh City. It is characterized by the rich, diverse development of sectors and trades. Some sectors and trades have reached a rather high level of technical development and are advanced in terms of their production experience. Small industry and handicraft production is closely related to the industrial production, to the exports and imports of the city. It also has close ties to the prosperous agricultural, forestry and fishing areas of the Mekong Delta, eastern Nam Bo, southern Trung Bo, the Central Highlands and so forth.

Defining the small industry and handicraft sector as a strength within the city's economic structure and establishing its important task within the city's strategy for socio-economic development have created the conditions for small industry and handicraft production to develop strongly and produce a wide variety of products to serve the needs of consumers, the needs of production and export needs while providing jobs for more than 170,000 laborers. In 1985, the city's small industry and handicraft sector produced 14.6 billion dong in total output value (computed at 1982 fixed prices), an increase of 17.4 percent over 1984 and 47 percent of the value of the city's total industrial output. The sector delivered 11.6 billion dong worth of products to the state (78.85 percent of the value of its total output) and exported goods worth 2 billion dong (32.13 percent more than planned).

Why has Ho Chi Minh City's small industry and handicraft sector, even though it has encountered many difficulties as have the other sectors of the economy, not only been able to maintain production, but also to steadily develop production, annually supply to society a large volume of consumer goods, some means of production and export goods and provide constant work to cooperative and team members and also absorb much new labor? It is because small industry and handicraft cooperatives have, under the light of the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and encouraged by the new economic policies of the party and state on the central and local levels, truly displayed dynamism and creativity in resolving their difficulties, have begun to dismantle the management mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shift to

economic accounting and socialist business practices and have gradually achieved autonomy in their production and business.

Due to the characteristics of the organization and management of the collective economic sector, the management mechanism of small industry and the handicraft trades has always been relatively flexible. However, the sector has not been able to avoid the influences of management based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. Therefore, the first step that had to be taken was to create every possible condition for cooperatives and production cooperation teams to achieve autonomy in their production and business in order to develop each potential and strongly develop production in the correct direction.

Encountering major difficulties in production, some economic sectors and more than a few state-operated industrial enterprises were caught unprepared, were confused concerning the direction to be taken in their production and business. Their production was unstable, their output was declining, etc. In the face of this situation, in order to maintain and develop their production, to maintain and increase the income of the laborer, many cooperatives and production cooperation teams took the initiative and adopted production guidelines and plans consistent with the overall planning of their economic-technical sector. They also took the initiative in deciding their own size and their form and mode of management and began to achieve financial autonomy and autonomy in the use of the unit's labor. These production guidelines and plans have been revised by basic units to remain consistent with market needs and production capabilities while moving in the direction of diversifying the product line under the requirements that "small industry be modern, the handicraft trades be skilled."

The city's small industry and handicraft sector has implemented a flexible planning mechanism, introduced indirect planning to augment direct planning and formulates plans from the basic unit upward through economic contracts and on the basis of existing production potentials plus efforts to develop the potentials lying in many other supply sources. Direct planning through economic contracts with state-operated economic organizations on the sale of raw materials and the procurement of the finished products produced from these materials (or processing contracts with central or local state-operated economic units) causes production to develop and remain stable when the state provides an adequate supply of materials but causes production to stagnate and decline when supply capabilities are limited. This mode does not develop the autonomy or tap the creativity of the basic unit. On the other hand, negative phenomena arise in the course of its implementation.

Under present conditions, using indirect planning to augment direct planning is necessary because it both permits and demands that the associations of interbranch cooperatives of the districts, precincts and subwards and the basic production units display a high degree of dynamism, flexibility and creativity in their management, open new sources of supplies, materials and capital and take the initiative in establishing rational product plans for themselves. Under this mode, basic production units must also find their own customers, sign economic contracts based on their production conditions and capacity and develop existing capabilities and potentials in order to obtain,

on their own, the supplies and raw materials needed to fulfill their production plan in accordance with the contracts they sign. Since 1980, when the state began experiencing increasing difficulties supplying materials, this mode has had an increasing impact and been an important factor guaranteeing that basic production units meet and exceed their yearly plan quotas. At present, more than 70 percent of the value of the total small industry and handicraft output of the city is produced through this mode.

To support small industry and handicraft production units, a system of services was established and rapidly began making an impact. The city's small industry and handicraft supply corporation and the supply stations of the districts, precincts and subwards have the task of providing supplies and raw materials to basic production units by means of joint businesses and economic ties with associated units, by procuring raw materials and scrap materials, by organizing the planting of raw material crops in the districts in the outskirts of the city, etc. Thanks to the establishment of this service system, basic units can engage in production free from worry and need not "run around" obtaining supplies and raw materials on their own, which avoids the negative phenomena that arise in this process. The system of Association of Interbranch Small Industry and Handicraft Cooperative Stores which consists of one central store and 14 precinct and district stores, serves as a link between producers and consumers. These stores introduce products of small industry and the handicraft trades, survey the needs and tastes of the market and both market and arrange for the marketing of products. At the same time, they evaluate the quality of products through the opinions of their customers. The customer conferences held by the city's Association of Interbranch Cooperatives and the associations of the precincts and districts each year have played a good role in inspecting the results of production activities, inspecting product quality, reflecting the needs of the market, etc.

The ability of basic units to mobilize capital has reached a high level of development. This capital includes capital acquired by the units themselves, capital borrowed from the bank, capital obtained through the exportation of goods for the purpose of importing equipment and raw materials and idle capital among cadres and cooperative members, which is mobilized at a reasonable rate of interest in order to develop production. In 1985, 31,237 economic contracts worth 22,105,000,000 were signed between basic production units and customers. The products produced under these contracts amounted to 76 percent of the value of the sector's total output for the entire year. At present, more and more contracts are being signed for the procurement of products at negotiated prices. The products of the city's small industry and handicraft sector marketed through state-operated commerce and marketing cooperatives, which amount to 80 percent of the value of the sector's total output, are a significant source of products supplementing the organized market, even though supplies and raw materials must be obtained mainly by the basic units themselves. The use of indirect planning to augment direct planning demands and creates the conditions for basic production units to display a high degree of dynamism and creativity in production and management so that they can develop each capability and potential.

Together with establishing the production and business autonomy of the basic unit, the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee and People's Committee and the

Central Association of Interbranch Small Industry and Handicraft Cooperatives have also taken positive steps to revamp the small industry and handicraft management mechanism. A number of specific policies and procedures have been revised or established. For example, the prices paid for contract work, product procurement prices and industrial and commercial tax rates have been revised with a view toward encouraging basic units to develop their production. The wage policy of cadres and personnel within the sector has been improved. The wage scale for contract workers and the wage ceilings for the various worker grades have been revised. Guidance has been provided to solve the problem of cash for basic production units that have a large volume of goods and produce export goods. Policies have been adopted that provide incentive for production by self-employed persons, private production units and the household economy. A policy concerning entertainers has been promulgated. The associations of interbranch cooperatives have been guided in formulating production plans that take into consideration each production cost factor and item and guided in initial efforts to correctly calculate all reasonable production costs for a number of handicraft art products and goods produced under contract. Here, we have reduced management costs and "negative costs" as much as possible and accelerated the application of scientific and technical advances in production in order to raise labor productivity and reduce production costs. Thanks to the concern and timely guidance of the Municipal Party Committee, Municipal People's Committee and the Association of Interbranch Small Industry and Handicraft Cooperatives, basic production units have found ways consistent with their own conditions and circumstances to effectively overcome their difficulties in order to maintain and develop production and create work for laborers. The model in this area is the city's handicraft textile sector, which has obtained supplies and raw materials on its own and exceeded the plan by 27 million meters of cloth. In their execution of economic contracts, advanced cooperatives and model subward have made use of the strength of small industry and handicraft production that lies in its flexibility and the quickness with which it can meet requirements. They have taken the initiative in signing both short-term and long-term contracts. The direct and timely support of the state-operated economy by the socialist collective economy has helped these economic units to meet and exceed their state plan quotas.

Developing production in a manner closely tied to transforming, reorganizing and restructuring production is also a matter that has been given full attention by the small industry and handicraft sector of Ho Chi Minh City. The purposes of reorganizing and restructuring production by economic-technical sector are to develop the forces of small industry and handicraft production and make full use of production capacity in accordance with planning. The reorganizing and restructuring of production are being carried out along specialized, cooperative lines in a manner closely linked to state-operated industry through a variety of forms of organization, such as establishing satellites of state-operated enterprises and participating in a product group headed by a state-operated enterprise. All scales of production are being combined: large, medium, small and household. At the same time, planning, quality control and supply, material and price ceilings have been gradually improved. The reorganizing and restructuring of production has now been virtually completed in key production sectors, such as the textile, tailoring, wood processing, paper, pottery-ceramic, glass and bicycle sectors.

The objectives in the socialist transformation of small industry and the handicraft trades are to bring small industry and handicraft laborers into collective production, collectivize the means of production, reduce and eventually eliminate exploitation and open the way for production forces to undergo strong development in the direction of socialism. On this basis, it is necessary to gradually consolidate and strengthen the new production relations in three areas: ownership, management and distribution. The specifics involved in transformation are closely linked to reorganizing and restructuring production, improving management and promoting the scientific-technological revolution. The comrades in Ho Chi Minh City have attached importance to improving the quality of the cooperativization movement by consolidating cooperatives and gradually upgrading cooperatives to high level cooperatives while applying policies that give preference to high level cooperatives. Many advanced, model cooperatives have been built that are strong enough to draw private handicraftsmen to collective production. Positive steps have been taken to strengthen production cooperation teams and gradually upgrade them to cooperatives. The formation of a relatively complete system of small industry and handicraft management organizations extending from the municipal to the precinct, district, subward and village levels has made positive contributions to the development of small industry and handicraft production and the socialist transformation of this sector. As of 1985, the city had more than 600 cooperatives (74 of which were high level cooperatives) and more than 3,600 production teams representing 125,000 laborers, or 77.2 percent of the small industry and handicraft labor within the city. In addition, 11,460 basic production units and units within the household economy are gradually being restructured as satellites working under contract for state-operated enterprises, joint public-private enterprises, joint enterprises and marketing cooperatives in a multi-layer, multi-scale industry. The organization of the associations of interbranch cooperatives has been continuously strengthened and developed and these associations have been playing a better role with each passing day.

However, there are still problems in Ho Chi Minh City's small industry and handicraft production that need to be resolved. The pace of development is not commensurate with potentials. Management loopholes and lax management have allowed some sectors and trades to explode in a spontaneous fashion and develop in the wrong direction, which has led to competition for supplies and materials among basic production units. Goods produced and marketed by units themselves still make up a large percentage of the total volume of products. Generally speaking, the quality of some products is still poor because more than a few basic production units continue to chase after profits without giving much attention to quality. Defective products and fake goods remain a problem. Some exported traditional handicraft art products do not meet specifications, etc.

The potentials of small industry and handicraft production in Ho Chi Minh City are still very large. Management cadres and cooperative members are dynamic and creative and work hard to overcome each difficulty in order to step up production. Therefore, to encourage basic production units to rapidly increase their output, quickly improve their product quality and meet domestic and export needs better with each passing day, revised small industry and handicraft cooperative statutes must be adopted at an early date. At the same

time, there must be changes in both our thinking and the way we provide guidance. Economic leverage policies must be enacted with the aim of creating the conditions for small industry and handicraft units to achieve autonomy in their production and business as well as absorb much more social labor in production and endeavor to raise the level of development of production and increase their production capacity in line with the requirement that "small industry be modern, the handicraft trades be skilled."

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## THE CHAU GIANG COOPERATIVE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 76-79

[Article by Nguyen Van The, secretary of the Chau Giang Village Party Committee]

[Text] The Chau Giang Cooperative was formed in 1976 through the merger of the Trac But and Chuyen Noi Cooperatives in Duy Tien District, Ha Nam Ninh Province. Following 10 years of struggling to build itself, the Chau Giang Cooperative has recorded comprehensive achievements and was commended by the Council of State as an Heroic Labor Unit on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of National Day, 2 September.

On the basis of the realities of the production and business activities of the Chau Giang Cooperative, we hereby boldly present a number of experiences:

Reorganizing Production, Gradually Building a Rational Economic Structure and Effectively Developing the Potentials that Lie in Land and Labor

The merger into a cooperative encompassing two villages created for our Chau Giang Cooperative new, favorable conditions in terms of land and labor (960 hectares of farmland, 4,500 laborers) for developing production. The cooperative, however, also faced many difficulties. It was our thinking that, in view of the conditions existing in this lowlying, densely populated area, the pressing problems we faced were to quickly shift agricultural production away from the monoculture of rice and to a general business encompassing rice, subsidiary food crops and industrial crops, develop livestock production, expand the trades, particularly trades of value from the standpoint of exports, and combine providing jobs locally with sending persons to build new economic zones.

During the very first years of its existence, by achieving a high level of intensive cultivation of grain crops, primarily rice, our cooperative established a stable standard of eating for the people, stabilized contributions to the state and boldly shifted some land once previously used exclusively in the cultivation of rice to the cultivation of industrial crops, thereby establishing a local source of raw materials for the development of the trades, while gradually building a rational economic structure that yields high economic returns.



The formation of this new economic structure demanded that the labor force of the cooperative be restructured. After considering all possibilities, the cooperative found that it could only provide regular work for 2,500 laborers (2,000 additional laborers would be unemployed). This was a very difficult problem. It was also the key factor in freeing the Chau Giang Cooperative from poverty. Recognizing this problem and adopting a correct policy at an early date, the Chau Giang party organization has successfully carried out a local redistribution of labor closely tied to sending persons to build new economic zones. During the past 10 years, as a result of good organization and properly prepared conditions, more than 5,000 citizens of Chau Giang (50 percent of the village's population) have eagerly gone off to earn their livings in new villages in the northwest, the Central Highlands and the Mekong Delta. A close relationship between the persons who left and those who have remained behind has been built on the basis of economic ties: the persons who moved to Hoang Lien Son Province regularly supply tre bamboo, nua bamboo, rattan and giang bamboo to the cooperative for the production of export goods. Conversely, our cooperative supplies them with necessary products. This relationship is not only a matter of economic ties between two villages, but has also created the conditions for labor to be redistributed within Chau Giang itself.

To do this, the Chau Giang Cooperative stepped up the development of the trades in the direction of closely combining the full development of the strengths of local traditional trades, such as the production of bricks, tiles and lime, carpentry, masonry and so forth, with boldly introducing a number of new trades, such as the weaving of jute rugs, the weaving of gunny sacks, the production of thatch, rattan, tre bamboo and giang bamboo blinds for exportation...

The strong development of the trade sector, particularly the production of export goods, in Chau Giang has generated significant sources of income for the collective and household economies. In 1985, the value of the Chau Giang Cooperative's export goods amounted to more than 30 percent of the total value of the exports of Duy Tien District. At present, the cooperative has nearly 2,000 laborers working in the trades. They make up 40 percent of the cooperative's total labor force (the crop production sector currently accounts for more than 50 percent of the labor force and 46 percent of the cooperative's total income). As a result of upgrading the trade sector to a main production sector, Chau Giang has not only truly abandoned the monoculture of rice, but has also established a rational economic structure, one within which agriculture has been closely tied to the handicraft trades within the cooperative and its households from the very outset and production is closely tied to processing and a general business that yields high economic returns. The cooperative's total income rose from 2.3 million dong in 1978 to 36 million dong in 1984. The income of the crop production sector rose from 1.4 million dong to nearly 17 million dong. The income of the trade sector rose from 375,000 dong to nearly 17 million dong. From subsistent monoculture, Chau Giang has advanced to commodity production. The value of the goods produced by the cooperative rose from only 985,000 dong in 1978 to 17 million dong in 1984. Its exports rose from 190,000 dong to 10 million dong. But the collective does not only earn profits from the trade sector and its service business. In recent years, many main crops, such as rice,

sugarcane, jute and so forth, have also produced significant profits. In 1984, total profits earned by the cooperative reached 6.3 million dong(\*) (many times higher than in 1978).

With production having developed, the collective has accumulated more and more capital (15 to 25 percent of total income), thus making it possible to expand material-technical bases, carrying out comprehensive economic, cultural and social development and building the new countryside.

#### Focusing Investments on the Construction of Material-Technical Bases

During the past 10 years, our cooperative has constructed many welfare projects, expanded many production units and purchased much machinery and many implements, including 5 large tractors, 30 Lotus Blossom tractors, hundreds of oxcarts with inflatable tires, 2 self-propelled barges with a capacity of 160 tons, 2,600 improved vehicles, etc. In 1984, the total capital of the cooperative reached 22.7 million dong, 16.1 million dong of which were acquired by the cooperative itself. The cooperative's fixed assets are worth 7.64 million dong. These material bases have been thoroughly utilized for many years and quickly returned the capital invested in them. Deserving of attention among the material-technical bases we have constructed are the water conservancy projects within fields that were completed immediately after the merger and which have played a major role in intensive cultivation and in the improvement of fields. The people of Chau Giang worked more than 1 million mandays to dig and spread nearly 1 million cubic meters of dirt to augment or construct 23 canals and ditches (level III canals with one canal, one embankment and one small path for improved vehicles and level II canals with one canal and two paths for tractors); build 53 bridges, 12 of which are large enough to accommodate tractors; build 2 electric pump stations with a total capacity of 12,000 cubic meters per hour, etc. The total capital invested in water conservancy projects exceeds 2 million dong.

Thanks to the construction of these water conservancy projects, our cooperative has effective irrigation and drainage on 85 percent of its land.

Along with the process of completing the water conservancy system, we have mechanized the preparation of soil on more than 95 percent of our land (the cooperative's tractor unit has four MTZ-50's and one DT-75). The cooperative has also invested thousands of tons of lime and phosphorus and spread duckweed on 80 to 90 percent of its fields, thereby thoroughly improving our phosphorus deficient, muddy soil. As a result, the cooperative was able to establish a rational allocation of crops with planting formulas that yield high economic returns and put the jute plant, which is native to silt fields, under cultivation in our area of lowlying land. Today, the cooperative has 100 hectares of jute (raised under a rotation cultivation formula of four crops in three seasons: soybeans as a companion crop with jute, late 10th month rice and western potatoes). Each year, we harvest 300 tons of jute fiber, 270 tons of rice, 800 tons of western potatoes and 48 tons of soybeans. The returns from 1 hectare cultivated in this manner are many times higher than the returns per hectare when we practiced the monoculture of rice.

However, even more important is the fact that the jute plant provides the cooperative with a local supply of raw materials with which to expand the weaving of jute rugs for exportation.

Along with other intensive cultivation measures, we have introduced an appropriate assortment of rice varieties in fields and raised the yield of rice from 3.4 tons per hectare in 1978 to 8.4 tons per hectare in 1983. As a result of increases in both yield and output, Chau Giang achieved a per capita grain output of 580 kilograms in 1983 and has annually mobilized from 1,000 to 1,400 tons of grain for the state (three times more than during the first year following the merger). Today, Chau Giang's average rice yield exceeds 10 tons per hectare.

At present, 95 percent of the cooperative member families live in a home with a tile roof and meet the standards of a family of the new culture. Each year, the cooperative provides to the 600 children at its child care centers 24 tons of rice, 4 tons of sugar, 1.5 tons of meat, 4 tons of soybeans and 24,000 eggs, which enables it to provide children of three different age groups with three different diets. In 1984, the Chau Giang Cooperative implemented a social insurance policy for cooperative members who reach retirement age. In 1985, 1,500 cooperative members were receiving retirement pensions totalling more than 1 million dong (in old bank money).

Chau Giang Has a Solid and Strong Village Party Organization and a Corps of Zealous, Highly Experienced Cadres Who Unite With the People in Building the Cooperative and Building the New, Socialist Countryside

The realities of the past 10 years in Chau Giang prove that the comprehensive achievements and the growth of the cooperative originate in the strength of the direct and comprehensive leadership provided by the village's party organization, a solid and strong party organization. In Chau Giang, the strength of the party organization's leadership is the strength of each party chapter, particularly the production unit party chapters.

Our Chau Giang party organization realizes that whether the cooperative's production and business organization is strong depends, to a large degree, upon the management skills of production unit cadres. We have focused every effort on improving the ability of party chapters to organize and guide, particularly the ability of production unit cadres to manage and coordinate. We have clearly defined the responsibilities of production units in guiding, inspecting and supervising cooperative member households in the formulation and implementation of production and business plans of the cooperative. We have also increased the assistance provided by the collective to each cooperative member household, not only from the standpoint of politics and ideology, but also material assistance, such as loans of capital and supplies in order to increase production. In Chau Giang, together with the development of the collective economy, the cooperative member household economy has also developed strongly. When each cooperative member family has been distributed enough to eat and receives sufficient money to cover expenses, contracts are settled fairly and debts are fairly paid to the cooperative (for the past several seasons, no products have had to be withheld). This is an important material factor in the creation of a close bond between the party and the

masses, between cooperative members and the cooperative and is also a force encouraging everyone to work hard in production. Moreover, in view of the fact that Catholics account for more than 40 percent of our locality's population, without strong party chapters, without exemplary party members, without cadres who are devoted and wholeheartedly serve the interests of the collective, we could not implement the party's policy on religion well or unite the religious and the non-religious in order to build the new, socialist countryside. Chau Giang has established mass organizations in the various parishes. Through the production emulation movement, many cooperative members who are Catholics have been trained as cadres and party members. There are party chapters in all the parishes. At present, the secretary of the village party committee, the village public security chief, the deputy cooperative director in charge of crop production, the chief of the planning section, a member of the standing committee of the people's committee, the head of the village chapter of the Women's Union and other persons come from Catholic families. In addition to building strong party chapters, building strong mass organizations and uniting all the people, the Chau Giang party organization has attached very much importance to training the corps of cadres under the guideline "the state and the people working together." In addition to opening a work-study middle school within the village to raise the level of education of cadres, party members and cooperative members, Chau Giang has also sent persons to study at a number of agricultural technical colleges, middle schools and elementary schools. Today, the cooperative has six economic, mechanical, livestock and crop production engineers and 100 middle and elementary level cadres. Some 90 percent of the cadres performing economic work within the cooperative have a general middle school education. The cooperative's corps of key cadres currently consists of elderly as well as young persons, of persons who were trained at formal schools as well as persons who have grown and matured within the production movement. This corps is a very valuable asset, is the decisive factor in the steady advance of Chau Giang's movement.

During the past 10 years, our cooperative has recorded a number of initial achievements in every field. But besides these achievements, we also have shortcomings and weaknesses. The Chau Giang Cooperative's level of intensive cultivation is showing signs of ceasing to rise at a time when the rice yields of a number of other cooperatives within the district have risen to levels higher than ours. Some households within the cooperative are still encountering difficulties in their everyday lives. With regard to living conditions and cultural activities, many essential needs of the people are not being met... Despite its high honor of being awarded the title Heroic Labor Unit by the state, our cooperative is not complacent, is not satisfied with what it has achieved. In the years ahead, we must endeavor to rapidly introduce scientific and technical advances in agriculture, achieve a new quality of intensive cultivation and raise crop and livestock yields. At the same time, we must expand and strongly develop the trade sector, particularly the export trades, in order to increase the cooperative's income and contribute more and more to the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

# FOOTNOTES

\* Values for 1984 and previous years are calculated in old money.

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## THE FACE OF THE 567TH REGIMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 80-83, 106

[Article by Nhat Tan]

[Text] Feats of Arms in the New Fight

Today, in the war to defend the fatherland against the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, our army has new heroic units. Through their resounding feats of arms, these units have raised Vietnamese revolutionary heroism to a new level. The 567th Regiment is one of these units.

The 567th Regiment came into being as the general offensive in the spring of 1975 was approaching total victory. As soon as it was established, which occurred amidst the intense atmosphere surrounding the liberation of the South, the regiment urgently set about training thousands of cadres and soldiers to promptly go to the South and join in the fight. When the South was completely liberated and the country was reunified, the regiment was shifted to economic construction work. Whether blasting rocks, building roads, building dams or bridges, planting forests and so forth, the regiment has excellently completed every task. In only 2 months of economic work, the regiment earned for the state nearly 2 million dong.

Shortly after peace was restored, when the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists began making trouble and seemed eager to invade our country, the regiment was put on combat alert duty. On 17 February 1979, in Cao Bang Province, the regiment promptly opened fire, killing Chinese forces as they swarmed into our country. In 12 days and nights of tenacious fighting against two enemy divisions, the regiment killed 6,060 enemy troops, took 9 prisoners, set 60 tanks and other military vehicles afire and confiscated or destroyed many means of war. This maiden battle made the regiment famous. With that, the regiment became an independent unit of a main force military corps performing a mobile combat mission.

In February 1985, the regiment was ordered to defend Vi Xuyen (Ha Tuyen), the site of the heaviest fighting in the border war of encroachment and occupation. In only 10 months of combat, the regiment fought three enemy regiments that replaced one another in combat, defeated more than 60 attacks by enemy forces ranging in size from squads to regiments, defeated one enemy

company manning a fortified defensive position, killed 2,753 enemy troops, took 4 prisoners, destroyed 10 mortar emplacements, blew up 10 underground ammunition depots being used to store tens of tons of ammunition, captured very many guns, very much ammunition, signal equipment and other equipment...

The continuous feats of arms of the 567th Regiment at the scene of heaviest fighting won for the cadres and soldiers of the regiment the increased respect and admiration of our people. The party and state awarded the regiment the title Hero of the People's Armed Forces. Since the day it was formed, the regiment has been presented with two bouquets of flowers by Uncle Ton; been awarded six Hero titles on the regiment, battalion, company and individual levels; and been awarded one Military Exploit Order Second Class, 255 Military Exploit Orders of other types and hundreds of certificates and letters of commendation.

### Behind the Feats of Arms

Which factors have given the regiment the strength to continuously record such feats of arms? A look at what the regiment has done to build itself and what it has done in combat shows several basic factors. These are:

1. Promptly developing and putting into practice creative and highly effective methods of fighting.

We have defeated many enemies, defeated many strategies and tactics and many of our outstanding battles are recorded in history books. However, the new circumstances of combat and our new enemy together with the new requirements of the war to defend the fatherland today differ in many ways from earlier periods. The regiment has, on the one hand, inherited and developed upon the experience of the wars of resistance against France and the United States. On the other hand, it has attached very much importance to developing new methods of fighting that are well suited to specific combat conditions to defeat the enemy's cunning tactics. The Chinese reactionaries differ from the French colonialists and U.S. imperialists in that their population is large and their mountains and river adjoin ours. They know the terrain of our country well. They know much about our situation. They have contacts and ties with persons inside our country. In their attacks on us, they employ many different cunning tactics. At times, they employ their "human wave" tactic, sending wave after wave of troops charging forth to occupy battle positions. At times, they send individual small units supported by very heavy artillery fire combined with decoy troop movements in attacks to encroach upon and occupy land of ours. At other times, they wait for an opportunity to use highly concentrated artillery fire to wipe out our forces... Closely linked to the tactics they employ in combat are the very cunning psychological warfare tactics they routinely employ to weaken our soldiers' will to fight. The fight against the Chinese aggressors is a bitter and long fight. In addition, it is a fight that is being fought in treacherous terrain, in dense forests and high mountains where the climate is harsh, where resupply is difficult, where it is frequently necessary to fight alone... If, under these conditions, our troops do not develop new, suitable and flexible methods of fighting, they will encounter many more difficulties and find it difficult to avoid defeat. Correctly recognizing and meeting these demands, the regiment

has regularly provided its cadres and soldiers with training in order to make them thoroughly familiar with the terrain and animal life, proficient in combat technology and tactics and skilled in one job but familiar with many with the aim of "localizing" and "sapperizing" the regiment to insure that the regiment possesses high fighting strength and is able to fight well independently, in concerted combat, in coordination with other units and in decentralized combat operations. When going into battle, its soldiers know the terrain, are proficient in the use of their own technical weapons and are able to make good use of other technical weapons in order to wipe out the enemy. As a result, the regiment was able to win victory even when Cao Bang City and the regiment's rear area were occupied by the enemy and all resupply routes from the rear had been severed. The regiment fought very well, systematically wiping out enemy forces in fortified defensive positions on Hill A6B. The regiment retook A6B and repulsed each of the enemy's furious counter-attacks. The regiment won victory over the enemy even in situations in which it was at a disadvantage to the enemy, such as being immediately below the enemy or on the side of a steep mountain immediately behind the enemy... Through its skillful and creative methods of fighting, the regiment was able to strengthen the confidence of our forces in their ability to win victory and preclude incorrect thinking from arising when encountering problems and obstacles in combat.

## 2. Forging a high will to fight amidst heavy combat.

Deserving of attention is the fact that, regardless of the circumstances, the regiment has never retreated in the face of difficulties and has always been determined to complete its task, be it training, economic construction or combat alert duty. Assigned to defend the border at the site of hottest and heaviest fighting against the war of encroachment and occupation of the Chinese aggressors, the regiment has concerned itself with improving the fighting skills of cadres and soldiers while attaching importance to forging their will to fight. These two factors have played an especially important role in view of the circumstances under which the regiment has been fighting. They combine as one and create the fighting skills and heroic spirit of the regiment's soldiers. The majority of the places where the regiment has taken up position have been surrounded by dense forest, high mountains or treacherous rock walls, have been places where transportation is very difficult. At many spots, only one person can fit through at a time or it is necessary to erect ladders and swing across on ropes. The slightest mistake is enough to send a person plummeting down into a chasm. Many places are wet and remain covered in clouds night and day... Far from the people, in regular contact with the enemy and with transportation very difficult, the regiment's soldiers live under exceedingly harsh conditions. They sometimes have no vegetables to eat, no water with which to brush their teeth and wash their faces and must often go without food or water for 2 or 3 days because they cannot be resupplied. The regiment's position has been intertwined with enemy positions like teeth in a set of gears. At many places, its position has been inferior to the enemy's. It has been difficult for the regiment to make any move without being detected by the enemy. At many spots, although we and the enemy cannot see one another, we are so close that we can hear what the enemy is saying and they can hear us. Were it possible to move the terrain ever so slightly, the enemy could immediately concentrate heavy fire power, including



mortars, 85 millimeter, 37 millimeter and 14.5 millimeter artillery, directly on the regiment's position. The enemy has fired on the regiment with no concern for the amount of ammunition used. One day, they fired 5,300 rounds of artillery at one small position. The dirt and dust were so thick that the position was as dark as night and the soldiers there could not see one another's faces. The fighting was exceedingly intense. There has hardly been one day when the regiment has not had to fight the enemy with infantry or artillery forces. The soldiers of the regiment must constantly fight the enemy with their weapons and also always be vigilant and struggle against the enemy's psychological war. Every hour of every day, the enemy slanders and attacks us over loudspeakers by exploiting negative phenomena in our society. Through various forms of literature and art, they attempt to provoke a sense of discouragement and resentment, provoke feelings of missing one's family and home. They appeal to soldiers to desert and cross the border, saying that they will be well treated. The enemy sends over psychological warfare goods to win over our soldiers and weaken their will to fight. Today's fight to defend the border readily brings several thoughts to the soldier's mind: before me is the enemy, before me lie hardships and sacrifice but behind me lies peace, tranquility and happiness. If the soldier does not possess high revolutionary vigilance and a steadfast will to fight, he cannot tenaciously stand his ground, cannot defend his combat position.

In light of these circumstances, the regiment's command cadres always keep abreast of the thinking and feelings of soldiers through the organizations of the party and the Youth Union. They maintain a close relationship with soldiers so that they can promptly encourage and help them, especially teach them to display a high spirit of comradeship and love of the other members of their unit and use the strength of the collective to help one another develop upon strengths and correct shortcomings while combating the ideological and psychological influences of the enemy. It can be said that both subjective conditions and objective circumstances have truly forged in the soldiers of the regiment an iron will to fight. These soldiers possess unquestioned loyalty to the party, to the people and are prepared to give their lives to defend the fatherland. They have tenaciously stood their ground and withstood every massive counter-attack and the repeated artillery attacks of the enemy. There have been times when, after one round of fighting after another, with their ammunition exhausted and their casualties high and with massive enemy forces climbing up to their position, soldiers have bravely stood ready to lay down their lives by calling in our own artillery on themselves in order to wipe out the enemy and defend their position. Once, a soldier threw himself down a deep cave to drive off the enemy, grabbed by the feet and being pulled down by the enemy, he did not hesitate to pull out a grenade and drop it on the enemy. Some soldiers, rendered unconscious by their many wounds, resumed fighting on regaining consciousness. When soldiers supplying a position with ammunition and food fell a few meters from the position under heavy enemy fire, other soldiers charged forth and carried the supplies to the position. Before dying, some soldiers have told the other members of their units: "Don't let the position be lost..."

3. Maintaining a close relationship between cadres and soldiers, between the army and civilians.

This is a tradition of our army, one recorded in the Oath of Honor. The regiment has constantly upheld this fine relationship.

The relationship between cadres and soldiers, the relationship between commanders and subordinates, between centralism and democracy are comfortable relationships, not forced. These relationships stem first from the exemplary, vanguard nature and the organizational and command skills of cadres and the trust and admiration that soldiers feel for cadres. The cadres of the regiment have played a good role in leading, organizing and commanding the unit in the fulfillment of its mission. Many comrades have shown themselves to be very steadfast, resourceful and brave, to be skilled commanders and fighters. They have dared to accept the sacrifices for themselves. Therefore, at all times and places, soldiers have been firmly confident in and obeyed cadres, have always followed the example of cadres in overcoming every difficulty and hardship and are ready to sacrifice their lives to complete their mission. This close relationship is also clearly evident in the equality and love between cadres and soldiers. The cadres and soldiers of the regiment can always confide in one another without hesitation, confide their personal feelings or thoughts that suddenly come to mind. They love and support one another, they help one another to rectify shortcomings and weaknesses in order to complete their mission together. Everyone considers the unit home and feels that they cannot live without the unit, without the other members of the unit. There have been many cases of soldiers earnestly asking to remain in the unit on the day before their discharge. Some comrades who were not scheduled for combat duty have insisted that they go into combat, have remained with their units and recorded outstanding feats of arms.

Wherever it is stationed, the regiment always maintains a close relationship with the people. Its command always takes the initiative in establishing ties with the local administration and people and helps the locality to build its armed forces and improve its technical, tactical and command skills as well as its ability to coordinate combat operations. The regiment's mass organizations establish brotherhoods with the mass organizations within the locality and exchange work and combat experiences with each other. In addition, soldiers are also ready to help the people build schools and child care centers and accelerate the cultural, literature-art, physical culture-sports and other movements. Every activity that the regiment conducts in its relations with the people is for "the happiness and joy of the people." Its cadres and soldiers respect the people and do not violate their property, customs or habits. As a result, wherever the regiment goes, it is loved by the people and the people are always ready to support and assist it. At many places, fellow countrymen, even though experiencing shortages in their own daily lives, have tightened their belts and pooled what they have to resupply the regiment with vegetables, fruit, other food products and medicinal herbs. The Association of Soldiers' Mothers and the mass organizations within the locality visit cadres and soldiers before and after heavy fighting in order to pay their regards, encourage them and give soldiers cigarettes and mend their torn clothing, all to express their deep love for the "troops of Uncle Ho," for the beloved sons of the people who are fighting day and night to defend each bit of soil of the Vietnamese fatherland. Thanks to this close bond, the cadres and soldiers of the regiment always have a warm feeling in their hearts and have gained additional strength.

Not satisfied with the achievements it has recorded and continuing to move ahead to overcome its difficulties and remaining weaknesses, the regiment is grasping its weapons ever more tightly and firmly defending the fatherland's border day and night, determined to duly punish the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists for their acts of encroachment and occupation along the border and record many more feats of arms in order to be worthy of the title Hero of the Vietnam People's Army and the trust and love of the people.

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## OUR NATIONAL CULTURAL IDENTITY AND THE MOLDING OF THE NEW, SOCIALIST MAN

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 84-89

[Article by Le Anh Tra]

[Text] Every nation has its own identity. This identity is the nation's character. At the same time, it is that special feature, that quality which is common to every member of the community. The national identity stems partly from biological, racial and genetic factors and partly from the culture that is forged and cultivated through social life. It is the nation's cultural identity.

National cultural identity (or, simply, national identity) is a key to understanding the Vietnamese and is a matter that cannot be studied in isolation from the nation's system of cultural values.

National identity is not all the positive cultural values of the nation added together. Rather, it is only the most essential characteristics, the most representative features of the nation's culture, features drawn from the values, from the traditions of the nation's culture. It represents the nation and makes the nation different from others from the standpoint of culture, of the people who make up the nation...

Many important cultural values of mankind are found in many nations. Each nation, however, has values that are unique and special to it. And, besides these values, every nation also has its own special qualities. For example, love of one's native village, of one's region can be found in every nation but the patriotism of a developed nation living within a progressive social system is different from the feelings for one's native village of a nation in a region where the system is underdeveloped. Many nations work diligently but the style of work differs from one place to another as dictated by natural conditions, the climate, the environment...

Expressing both the nature and the special characteristics and features of a nation, a nation's identity is its backbone, its essence. It is generalization on a high level of each and every positive, spiritual value but is not an abstract concept. Rather, it is a potential that is manifested through the thinking, language, psychology, feelings, actions, literature, art, folk culture, customs, habits, way of life...of the entire nation.

Thus, national identity is the quality of the nation, is the nation's portrait, the nation's soul. It is the source of the strength, the existence and development, the conscious desire to move forward of a nation.

It must also be said that although every nation has a cultural identity, not every nation's identity is as strong or rich as the next and not every nation always preserves its identity as though it were the apple of its eye. In history, nations that no longer exist destroyed or weakened their own identity. And, in our times, more than a few persons in a number of nations have failed to maintain their full national identity and have lost their moorings, have lost their way...

The Vietnamese nation has always maintained its identity and always strengthened and developed this identity, taking this identity as the source of its strength, as the base for waging victorious, life or death struggles against national enemies. Today, in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, it is the focus, the backbone of efforts to build the new culture and mold the new, socialist man.

One characteristic of national identity is that it remains relatively stable as the history of the nation develops. It emerges when the roots of the nation are just forming, emerges during the very first days that the nation is being built and becomes a strong tree. Through the months and years, through the ages, from one generation to the next, this tree grows stronger, it blossoms and bears fruit. The flowers might fall and be replaced, but the tree grows on, tied to the destiny of the entire community, the nation and the country. Some of the factors of this identity become part of the nation's very flesh and blood, become part of its subconsciousness. This is an indication of just how permanent and strong this identity is. Nevertheless, it is not immutable. This identity evolves and develops as the nation and its people develop. And, although this identity is, generally speaking, stable, it does change, sometimes dramatically, sometimes undergoing a special development in terms of quality, in terms of the nation's stand and thinking. These changes occur during periods when major displacements or changes occur in the structure of society or when new ideas of important significance emerge. For example, when, following 1,000 years of Chinese domination during which our national identity was suppressed, our nation became independent and sovereign and the Dai Viet culture blossomed, our national identity underwent significant substantive changes.

And, since the August Revolution, with the emergence of Marxist-Leninist thinking, with the success of the revolution, of the wars of resistance against France and the United States, our national identity has acquired qualities of this new age in which we live.

Conversely, the possibility cannot be precluded that in stages of poor economic development, of political and social chaos, when negative cultural and social factors emerge, the nation's identity can be affected to some extent, can become blurred, become altered or be tarnished somewhat. Clearly, national identity is a quality which, although tied almost entirely to the consciousness and feelings of each person, is not a natural endowment. It is not immutable, but must be taught, cultivated and forged. The teaching

of national identity usually occurs naturally and spontaneously through the influences of the environment, of life and society. It is also something that is done through the conscious efforts of each person, of the state, the community and the nation through the education provided within the family, at the school, within the agency and the mass organization.

In the present stage of the country's development, we must have a very clear perception of our current national identity, must know our capabilities, our strengths and weaknesses well, so that we can adopt a plan for preserving, cultivating and enhancing our qualities and cultural values and, on this basis, bring our national identity to a new level of development with the aim of successfully building the new culture and molding the new, socialist man.

In a multi-national country such as ours, every nationality and ethnic group has its own identity. For example, in addition to the Kinh (Viet) ethnic group, the Tay, Nung, Thai, Muong, H'Mong and Dao ethnic groups, the Montagnards, the Khmer of Nam Bo, the Cham...have their own identities. The common national identity of Vietnam as a whole is mainly a combination of the identity of the ethnic majority, the Viet ethnic group (the dominant factor), and the identities of the other important ethnic groups mentioned above. As a result of living together for many years within one nation, sharing joys and sorrows, struggling against common enemies and winning glorious victories together, the various ethnic groups have influenced one another. Their identities have had an impact upon one another and have been brought closer together, with the influence of the ethnic majority, of course, being dominant.

The tendency of the cultures of the various ethnic groups to move closer together, to incorporate more of one another and become interwoven, with the resulting emergence of an increasingly unified Vietnamese culture, has created an increasingly strong common identity for all Vietnamese, for the entire nation of Vietnam. Although each ethnic group still retains features of its ethnic identity, this in no way impedes the development of our common identity, but only makes it richer. Even within the Kinh ethnic group, the unique cultural aspects of each cultural region (Bac Bo, central Vietnam, the South and so forth) are retained. Our policy is to not absorb minor identities within one common identity. Even in the case of the individual person, it is necessary to insure the development of each creative personality and not erase the uniqueness of the individual in artistic creativity. In the final analysis, everyone in the world is different. This is a law of nature. It is also a law in the molding of man.

There is yet another perspective from which cultural identity can be viewed.

Geographical factors combined with national and historical factors have led to the formation of large "cultural regions" in the world, such as Southeast Asia, South Asia, Western Europe, Northern Europe, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, South and North America, etc. Each of these major cultural regions has its own common, identifying features, knowledge of which is very beneficial to cultural intercourse in the world.

In an age in which the culture of the world is taking huge strides forward, particularly in the fields of science and technology, in an age in which all cultures of the world can be influenced by and influence one another, these cultures, which include the cultural identity of nations, have a very strong impact upon one another, with the result that the conditions exist for the national identities of cultures to intertwine. Distinctive factors of national identity gradually recede into the background and universal factors are adopted. Many different situations are possible. In relations among the capitalist countries, the cultures of the large countries usually dominate the cultures of the small and poor countries. Here, acculturation is a form of cultural inequality, is cultural neo-colonialism. Such has been the case with the American way of life, which has spread to other countries and caused some nationalist countries that lack vigilance to pursue consumerism, to venerate the glitter of capitalist civilization, thus causing the nation's traditional culture to become increasingly foreign, to drift from its moorings and harming the nation's political and economic independence.

It is neo-colonialism that has applied this policy of aggression through acculturation, of introducing negative, decadent cultural products in a vain attempt to erode the national identities of countries and, in this way, cause the will of the peoples of these countries to struggle for national independence to be weakened, which can lead to peaceful political changes in the favor of imperialism.

The nationalist countries, having become increasingly aware of this scheme, have adopted correct policies regarding cultural intercourse, policies designed to protect their values and traditions, and are now highly vigilant against the cultural tactics of imperialism. It is not without reason that there are popular movements in many countries of the world to gain an understanding of and retain the nation's cultural identity, to return to the nation's cultural roots, with this being considered an effective way to develop the spirit of patriotism and national struggle.

Among the socialist countries, a different law applies with regard to cultural intercourse. From our perspective, cultural exchange and cultural influences among the socialist countries are a law in the development of these cultures. We always retain the national identity of our culture but, instead of being bigoted, instead of closing our doors, we stand ready to accept things that are new, are revolutionary, accept the very best of world culture in order to constantly augment our cultural values, our cultural identity. Acculturation in the direction of socialism is an essential law of Vietnam's culture, provided that, in this acculturation, endogenous, not exogenous, factors are dominant. Only in this way is it possible to retain and develop our national identity.

Studying our national identity in culture is very difficult. Everyone perceives in the Vietnamese certain special characteristics, certain features that are unique to Vietnam. However, it is not easy to combine these features and express them in the form of an identity.

To begin with, we must have knowledge of all the cultural values and traditions of the nation. This must be accomplished both through cognition

based on logical thinking and through intuition based on intuitive thinking, that is, through both reason and sentiment. It is difficult for a purely intellectual analysis to give us a full picture of the deepest aspects of the soul, of the most subtle aspects of a feeling. Therefore, works of art are a rich source of materials from which we can gain an understanding of the qualities, psychology and sentiments of the Vietnamese.

In years past, many scholars have attempted to present some of the essential values of the nation of Vietnam, for example, our traditional deep, unyielding and heroic patriotism in the face of all aggression, patriotism that is today being elevated to socialist patriotism; our spirit of diligence in labor, our spirit of enduring every hardship and challenge and steadfastly defending our life, defending the life of the community; our manual skills and ability to adapt to all circumstances; our simple way of life and optimism; our love of nature, our love and kindness toward our fellow man, which begin in the family, in the village and extend to the poor and needy, even to vanquished enemies, etc.

There are also persons who stress, as a pair of parallel categories in the national identity of Vietnam, our heroism and simplicity, or the fact that we are both staunchly heroic but flexible and adaptable as well.

Other persons stress our atheism, our lack of belief in a religion, our love of our fellow man, the fact that we are not obstinate, our clemency toward others...

Others emphasize our genteel, reserved style, a style expressed through customs that reflect harmony and balance, and the fact that we are not inclined toward form but delve deeply into the psychology of expression in an art that is richly lyrical.

And, still others maintain that, from the perspective of aesthetics, the Vietnamese possess refined tastes and preferences. Their tastes and preferences do not run to the garish or the loud, but are silent, are balanced and reflect a kind soul with feelings of warmth, optimism, loyalty...

Besides positive values, scholars have also pointed out limiting factors and weaknesses caused by the old system, by the old economy and society in our ethics, our way of life, our customs and habits... These are weaknesses, are negative factors that have arisen in the process of the struggle between good and bad. That which is bad is always denounced and detested by the people. The scars that it leaves gradually fade on their own from the legacy we inherit. Negative, non-humanist factors, although always in existence, cannot be included among the traditional values of the nation and cannot be reflected in national identity, an essential attribute that is always positive.(1)

To date, we have been unable to accurately and fully summarize the qualities mentioned above in a complete list of our nation's cultural values.

However, we can take legitimate pride in the fact that the nation of Vietnam has, in the course of its long and glorious history, established for itself spiritual values that are solid, dynamic and rich and has maintained and



developed these values into a priceless identity. From what we have learned, we also have the basis for determining the backbone, the essence of each value and crystallize these values in a combined psychological-ethical-ideological-aesthetic quality that is both the essence of and is representative of our nation's culture, controls both our consciousness and subconsciousness and is expressed in each activity of man and society.

This combined quality is our national cultural identity. Every Vietnamese can, depending upon his level of education and intelligence, recognize and perceive it. However, to demand that this quality be expressed as a rigid formula, that it be governed by a strict definition is very difficult, and is something that might never be accomplished in a way that is truly full and complete.

To fully know the national identity of a culture, it is necessary to approach the culture from many different perspectives, from the perspective of theoretical thinking, the perspective of impressions and experimentation, from the perspective of creativity in literature and art. Alexi Tolstoy once wrote a short novel entitled "The Russian Character." He presented a most beautiful image of love and loyalty and allowed us to conclude on our own what the character of the Russian was. Boris Polevoi acquaints us with the identity of the Soviet Union, not through scientific definitions, but through a series of world famous stories about Soviet heroes. And, in the Soviet Union, as well as in other countries, there still is no truly complete summary of what the identity of these nations is.

In the world, certain qualities are often identified with a number of countries. For example, the British are cold and indifferent. The French are sociable and polite. The Germans are miserly. The Japanese are pragmatic and so forth. It is our thinking that these are not national identities, but only a salient characteristic that is readily seen in these nations by foreigners, not their essence. Mockery is usually the purpose of these characterizations. They tend to find fault with and make fun of a nation and reflect a subjective evaluation, not one based on objective, scientific knowledge.

Although difficult, we have arrived at a relatively unified determination of what the national identity of Vietnam's culture is.

Vietnam's identity is the most beautiful essence of Vietnam's culture, the most distinctive characteristics of which are, in our opinion, deep affection for and devotion to the country, to one's native village, to man and to one's friends, which are reflected in the demeanor, are expressed in the qualities of heroism, simplicity and optimism but humility as well.

This identity has played a very important role as catalyst in the history of the country's development. It is playing and will continue to play a very important role in socialist construction, in the molding of the new, socialist man.

To preserve the nation's cultural heritage, our national identity must be enhanced, which occurs as this identity constantly evolves on its own to keep pace with changes in objective conditions, changes in the times. In the face

of the demands of the country in the new age, the nation's identity has been changing on its own, has been evolving to embrace new, socialist factors, such as communist humanism, the proletarian international spirit and the thinking of Marxism-Leninism, together with very rich and entirely new styles of expression.

Today, Vietnam's identity is evolving into a socialist national identity.

This development is not spontaneous development. Rather, it is conscious development, is development that is part of our party's line on the education of man, part of its human strategy. To do a truly thorough job of molding the new man, importance must be attached to cultivating this identity.

The following measures are designed to strengthen and develop national identity and are, at the same time, part of the plan to build a new, socialist culture:

--Deeply researching, by many different methods and measures, each national cultural value, each fine tradition of all ethnic groups, all cultural regions and in each field of life; adopting plans to evaluate, select and introduce these values and systematically teach them to everyone so that they become universal, become deeply rooted in all strata of the people and all generations so that each person and each ethnic group learns and cultivates these values and we can cultivate an increasingly rich and diverse cultural identity amidst solid unity.

--Intensifying cultural exchanges with the world, particularly with the socialist countries, and studying the very best of the world's culture in a selective and analytical manner so that we can augment our traditional values with new values without disrupting our traditions and our national identity is raised to the level of our times yet retains its roots, its backbone, retains its Vietnamese beauty.

--Resolutely overcoming the weaknesses in Vietnam's system of cultural values and resolutely rejecting backward and negative factors in our way of life while establishing new customs and habits, establishing a new way of life.

The new, socialist Vietnamese can only develop completely (that is, be fully developed and well balanced) when our cultural identity, which is his very core, becomes a socialist national identity.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See: "Ve gia tri van hoa tinh than Viet nam (2 tap)," [Concerning the Spiritual Cultural Values of Vietnam (2 volumes)], Thong Tin Ly Luan Publishing House, Marx-Lenin Institute, Hanoi, 1983.

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## SOME THOUGHTS ON LITERARY LIFE IN HO CHI MINH CITY SINCE LIBERATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 90-94

[Article by Tran Trong Dang Dan]

[Text] During the past 10 years, literature in Ho Chi Minh City has recorded major achievements. This has been the first decade in the city's history of more than 300 years that socialist realist literature has been an orthodox literary movement. Tens of thousands of literary works have been produced and circulated within the city during the past 10 years, the majority of which are works created by the most progressive and scientific method--the creative method that has the Marxist-Leninist world view as its philosophical-political base and the consciousness of the proletarian party as its dominant ideological-aesthetic principle.

During the past 10 years, the city's publishing system alone has supplied to readers more than 1,700 book titles. And, among the 10 types of press materials that are in relatively widespread circulation within the city, more than 10,000 poems, more than 1,500 short stories and narratives...dealing with wholesome themes have been written during the past 10 years, the majority of which have been written by writers who reside within the city. Many poems have become the lyrics of songs liked by hundreds of thousands of persons. Several good works have been written for the cinema and the stage. Many literary works have provided the basic material for good plays and films. Valuable contributions have been made by the fields of literary research, theory, criticism and translation. Literature for youngsters has also recorded very encouraging achievements, particularly in recent years.

Of course, in the literary life of Ho Chi Minh City, the past 10 years have not been without phenomena that have discouraged readers. "The Evasive Clown Doll," which dealt with the political and social situation in the South and the city in 1979 and 1980, gave us cause for concern regarding the stand and sense of responsibility of the writer. On reading the short story "Through the Pass," we could not help but be upset by the commonplace ethics of the succeeding generation and concerned about the viewpoint of the writer concerning the origin of the war... And when a poet, instead of saying "before I was born," exclaims in his work "when I was still dust"...he expresses a concept that is foreign to us from the standpoint of world view and philosophy of life, foreign to our thinking concerning the origin of man

and, by so doing, has harmed new readers... Some rhymes and fables address nebulous themes, ridicule and attack the wrong persons...thus making an impact upon the thinking of the reader. The selection of translations of foreign literature and the way foreign literature has been translated for the city's readers have not always yielded good returns. From the translated stories on American blacks such as "Uncle John's Mistaken Prophecy" or "Elliot's Discovery," for example, it is hard for us to believe that the reader comes away with a clear understanding of the qualities and values of the black person in the United States and thus acquires a deeper hatred of racism. Rather, the opposite is sometimes the result. Activities in the fields of research, theory and criticism have been marked by superficial views, by shortcomings and so forth.

Many more of these phenomena that are discouraging to new readers can be found but all these phenomena taken together are secondary compared to the large number of works that represent literary achievements of the city. From an overall perspective, we can boldly say that the literary works of Ho Chi Minh City during the past 10 years have been good. They are works that have tried to honestly describe reality in the process of its revolutionary development with the aim of helping to teach the socialist revolutionary spirit and communist ideals to the public. Through the art of literature, the writers of these works have confirmed that the new, the positive and the beautiful are the dominant factors in life. At the same time, they have harshly criticized the negative, the backward and the mistakes that still exist within our society with a view toward gradually overcoming and eventually totally eliminating them.

Thus, during the past 10 years, the corps of writers of Ho Chi Minh City has made positive contributions of enormous significance while laying the groundwork for contributing to the formation of new areas of theory. It has laid the groundwork for helping to confirm, develop and creatively apply the basic principles of literary theory and the theory of aesthetics, in general, and the groundwork for augmenting and perfecting the theoretical foundations of Vietnamese literature, of Vietnamese art, in particular.

Along with these achievements and contributions, the realities of the revolution are facing literature in Ho Chi Minh City with many new problems, problems that must be solved through specific measures, solved through practical activities and solved from the perspective of theory.

Having accepted the responsibility of reviewing the literature of Ho Chi Minh City during the past 10 years in light of these requirements, we see that we face very many problems, some large, some small, all of which are closely related and need to be resolved.

Here, only a few of these problems will be addressed.

First, with regard to the subjects described by literature, we always give priority to contemporary issues, that is, to reflecting socialist transformation and socialist construction. This is quite proper, but also quite difficult. The problem commonly seen here is discrepancies between reality as it exists and reality as it is said to exist, as it is described in

literary works. While acknowledging that there is always something of a gap between these two factors, the writer must be exceedingly quick to recognize new conditions as they emerge so that he can immediately talk about things that could not be talked about yesterday in order to reduce this gap between reality as it exists and reality as it is said to exist, put more information into his works and broaden the scope of his themes and subjects. This is a very necessary requirement but it is one which few writer have done much to meet during the past 10 years.

Giving priority to modern topics is correct but even works on contemporary issues must possess historical depth. The extent of this historical depth depends upon the size of the work itself. A work that describes life today can reflect the spirit of the nation's 4,000 year history. And, works must explore not only the depth of our nation's history, but also the breadth of mankind's history. On the other hand, we also feel that there are countless issues in the past that are still of pressing, contemporary significance to us today, issues which have not been addressed at all or only to a very small degree in the literary works of Ho Chi Minh City over the past 10 years. For example, subjects dealing with the 9 year war of resistance have been virtually ignored. The face of society in the city itself and in Nam Bo prior to 1945 is also very poorly defined in literature. The realities of the resistance against the United States for national salvation have been presented in scores of works, and it must be acknowledged that the most significant achievements of Vietnamese literature, of the literature of our city have been recorded in works on this topic. However, although published after the victory won in April 1975, some works on this topic were actually written while the war was still being fought. Reflecting the reality of a war while the war is still being fought is different than reflecting the reality of a war once the war has ended. And, concerning this particular war, reflecting it within the context of a long period of peace is different than reflecting it against the background of the seesaw war being fought today along our country's border. However, the works on the resistance against the United States for national salvation that were written before the war ended are of value but the new public demands that works on this topic take a newer perspective, which is something that many works written since the war have failed to do. Therefore, from the standpoint of topics and the new public and in light of the new conditions of life, of the new attitudes that exist, these works have not generated much by way of strong interest and have not received the acclaim befitting their importance.

One of the important subjects described by the literature of Ho Chi Minh City during the past 10 years has been the war on the southwestern border. Here, the short, concise genre, such as the narrative, the poem and the short story, have proven just how effective and timely they can be. However, major works that possess depth in terms of their contents and art are still rare.

There are many other aspects of the problems concerning the subjects described by literature that must be given thought and resolved in the years ahead. For example, there is the matter of how we should criticize the negative phenomena in society in order to both make a good impact upon the masses and show that the writer is being responsible. There are the matters of the writers of the city and national topics and the writers of the rest of the country and

topics concerning the city. There is the matter of setting a common direction for topics on the city and setting subject guidelines for the various strata of writers. There is the matter of topics dealing with science, technology, etc.

The second problem we would like to address concerns the city's corps of writers. We have a corps of nearly 200 persons and a large and vital force of young writers, which are augmented by many writers who write on the city even though they do not reside within it. This is very gratifying. However, neither the impact nor the creativity of these forces have been developed or tapped to the fullest extent possible. The quality of the works written over the past 10 years has not matched the real capabilities of the corps of writers. Some writers who possess experience in life, possess valuable knowledge and once showed that they also possessed talent have remained virtually inactive for many years, either because they do not feel the pulse of the new public, are not inspired to write or are putting their efforts into too many other things. A few of these writers have written a small number of works but have failed to make a very deep or significant impression.

The city's corps of writers has been assembled from many different sources. Their knowledge, their life experience and their styles are diverse and rich. However, we do not see the combined strength of this corps in the works that have been produced during the past 10 years. The strengths of each source have not been brought together in a combined strength. Writers from some sources remain in a quandry, unable to overcome their initial unfamiliarity and adapt to the new creative environment.

Among the problems that relate to the city's corps of writers, we see many that are very deserving of concern. One is the stand and perspective of some writers. We are happy to have what we have, namely, a large and strong corps of writers. At the same time, we are not forgetting that some members of our corps of writers fled the country during the past 10 years. This loss, although small, is regrettable. The problem we face is how to prevent this situation from recurring. Because, we cannot even begin to talk about the role and responsibility of the writer when the writer's obligations as a citizen are not being fulfilled.

The problem of achieving mutual support among the various generations of writers is also one to which attention must be given. Which steps must be taken to insure that the various generations not only support one another, but are also completely compatible with one another so that the strengths of all generations are developed and augment one another and weaknesses are gradually eliminated.

In the face of the wide assortment of aesthetic tastes of the reader, in the face of the disorder in the publication and distribution system today, what is the writer to think as he sits facing a blank page? Which tastes should he pursue, which publishing and distribution guidelines should he support? How is he to overcome all the difficulties being faced in everyday life in order to write with confidence, to fight for victory on the cultural and ideological front? These are burning questions in our literary life.

The third problem concerns literary works themselves. No one wants to read a literary work that is half finished. But in order for a work to attract many readers, it must be genuinely interesting, that is, interesting from the standpoint of describing reality honestly and within the framework of its trend of development; interesting from the perspective of employing art to express the philosophical and political views of Marxism-Leninism, of our party and state; interesting from the standpoint of providing the reader with new knowledge and creating interpersonal relations that are more proper; and interesting from the standpoint of bringing beauty or the truth to the reader. The majority of the literary works of Ho Chi Minh City during the past 10 years have been proven to have been written in exact accordance with guidelines and to be wholly proper in terms of content. This is something very good. However, works that generate truly strong interest among the public are still rare. Here, the problem we face is the need to re-examine the functions of literature.

One of the more prevalent phenomena in Ho Chi Minh City during the past 10 years has been the emergence of numerous works on criminal cases, on special operations and commando forces, on tactical and strategic espionage and intelligence operations... This genre, it must be acknowledged, has attracted a large number of readers, particularly among the young. While it is also very necessary for these realities to be reflected in literature, this must be done in such a way that works describing these realities are highly literary in nature and the impact of this genre is not restricted to pure entertainment or leans toward satisfying the preferences of some readers whose tastes are shallow and run toward the exotic.

Is the number of literary works written in Ho Chi Minh City during the past 10 years actually very high compared to the number of works that have been published during the past 10 years? Is the ratio between the number of works written on the city compared to the number of literary works, in general, distributed within the city during the past 10 years still very small? And, what is the ratio between the number of books published and distributed since the great victory in the spring of 1975 to the number published and distributed under the American-puppet regime? These questions must be carefully examined and correctly evaluated in order to chart the course for the city's literature in the years ahead.

Among the problems related to literary works in Ho Chi Minh City, the problem of emulation among the different genre is also one that perhaps needs to be given attention. Here, it is poetry that is in the most difficult situation. During the past 10 years, very many poems have been written. If satirical and critical poems are included, the number is very large, particularly in the press. Many persons have written very many poems and, in all fairness, it must be said that more than a few of these poems, more than a few lines of poetry are well written. However, only a very small number of poems has been brought to life, mainly as a result of being set to music and being used as the lyrics of songs. But the poems themselves that have been written during the past 10 years have not drawn significant attention in literary life. In the case of narratives, the problem is more complex, especially with regard to works related to major changes in the country. Generally speaking, quantity has continued to outweigh quality during the past 10 years. Here, problems

related to theory are arising again concerning such matters as literary narratives and press narratives, narratives and fiction... Literature for the stage and cinema have not come into their own. Many plays have been written for the stage and many scripts have been written for the cinema but very few of these plays and scripts meet the standards of literary works. Meanwhile, the short novel is virtually the only genre to set off significant shock waves. Deserving of attention is that the basic factor behind the shock waves set off by some short novels in the recent past has been how the issue at hand has been raised, has been the writer daring to charge forth to the leading edges of life, address the concerns and questions that are most pressing, are most current and do so while providing the largest possible volume of information to readers. We welcome the positive impact of the short novels of this kind but cannot say that we welcome all short novels. Nor can we be satisfied with the literary works of the city, in general, during the past 10 years. A positive and gratifying trend is the uniform development that has been taking place amidst an atmosphere of emulation among the various genre. Because, a system of literature, a literary stage cannot be the achievement of only a few genre. One of the most pressing needs in the literary life of Ho Chi Minh City, as well as our country, in the years ahead is the need for many good works of major importance. These works must encompass each and every genre. They must reflect many different aspects of life. They must encompass a breadth that is large and expansive and a depth, in terms of time, that extends far back into history.

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## IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: A LESSON

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 95-96

[Article by Phuong Son]

[Text] The case of Cao Van Tuyen(1) causes us to think. Why would a cadre with more than 30 years on the job, a cadre who has made many contributions to building the communications-transportation sector, commit mistakes so serious as to require that the party take disciplinary action against him?

To determine the causes of these mistakes, we must first look at what Tuyen did to improve and better himself. Although he had been a party member for more than 26 years, Tuyen did not attach importance to the communist party member's obligation to constantly improve himself, especially when he became the leader of a specialized sector of the province. Because he neglected this obligation, Tuyen lacked the necessary qualities of a communist party member, of a cadre of a communist party leading a proletarian dictatorship state.

The foremost quality of the party member is strict compliance with the resolutions of the party. Tuyen did not strictly comply with a number of the province's policies concerning the development of water route transportation. In 1985, the Thanh Hoa Provincial Party Committee and People's Committee adopted policies on developing water route transportation. Because Tuyen lacked a sense of responsibility and neglected his management duties, particularly the management of the coastal transport enterprise, these policies of the province were not implemented.

The communist party member wholeheartedly serves the people. He is the first to be concerned and the last to take enjoyment. He is diligent, frugal, honest and unbiased. He does not violate public property, is not selfish and does not use public property for private purposes. In violation of this spirit, Tuyen abused his position, bought many building materials (at "internal" prices) and used equipment and labor of the corporations within the sector managed by him to build a private home. This occurred in 1983 and raised many questions among the people.

With the party leading the administration, the communist party member must scrupulously obey the Constitution and the laws of the state. He must live on the income earned through his labor and not engage in speculation through

trade. In early 1985, while on assignment overseas, Tuyen used and managed foreign currency in an irresponsible manner, causing public funds to be lost. He and those accompanying him purchased many goods of a speculative nature, thereby exerting a bad influence.

The shortcomings described above prove that Tuyen lacks the necessary qualities of a communist party member, the main cause of which has been the light attention given by him to regularly and continuously improving himself in line with the standards of the party member as defined in Party Statutes.

Here, mention must also be made of the responsibility of the party organization, particularly the party chapter at the place where Tuyen participates in party activities, the state organization at the place where he works and the mass organizations, particularly the trade union, of which he is a member. Had these organizations provided stronger education, stronger management and done more to forge the revolutionary qualities of cadres, party members and the members of their mass organization, the mistakes made by Tuyen could have been prevented.

Every violation of party discipline and state law must be dealt with in an appropriate manner. This measure is necessary to strengthen the discipline within the party and the state apparatus.

However, the purpose of disciplinary action is not only to punish, but also to educate. If we learn appropriate lessons from each case of disciplinary action, the action taken will have the effect of building and strengthening the organization of the party and the state apparatus. The lessons that must be drawn here are that every cadre and party member must always attach importance to cultivating revolutionary ethics and the organization of the party, particularly the party chapter, must provide stronger education and management, must do more to cultivate revolutionary qualities among cadres and party members, including party members who are middle and high ranking cadres.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cao Van Tuyen, member of the Thanh Hoa Provincial Party Committee and director of the Thanh Hoa Provincial Communications-Transportation Service was the subject of the disciplinary action party detention in accordance with a decision by the Party Central Committee on 17 June 1986.

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WHERE WILL FOLLOWING THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA LEAD THAILAND?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 97-101

[Article by Ho Bat Khuat]

[Text] Thailand, with its administration of powerful capitalists and large landowners and long known as a country that pursues a "blow in the wind" foreign policy, has the practice of collaborating with aggressor imperialists to the detriment of neighboring countries and its own gain. In World War II, when practically all the countries of Southeast Asia had been invaded and occupied by Japan, Thailand collaborated with Japan and served Japan's interests. "With a few smiles and more than a few bows, we made the Japanese happy"--said former Thai Prime Minister Kukrit Pramot. Following World War II, this time with the United States, Thailand not only smiled and bowed but also obediently served U.S. interests and became almost totally dependent upon the United States. During the years when the United States was waging its war of aggression in Indochina, Thailand turned its territory into a U.S. military base. The Thai Army directly participated in combat on the Indochina battlefield beside the U.S. Army. Thailand thought that its U.S. friends would be a permanent influence in Indochina. It did not suspect that the United States would suffer a shameful defeat and be forced to withdraw from Indochina. Then, when U.S. interests no longer coincided with Thai interests, the United States was prepared to trample upon the sovereignty of Thailand. For example, in 1975, despite protests by the Thai government, the United States used a military base on Thai soil to take back the American ship Mayaguez which had been captured by Khmer Rouge forces. That day, the Thai people had another opportunity to learn the character of the United States--a country that is always overbearing in international relations, made so by its wealth and many weapons.

Following the defeat of the United States in Vietnam and the withdrawal of U.S. forces, Thailand quickly turned to China in an vain attempt to find a protector. China had long nurtured the ambition of penetrating further into Southeast Asia and was looking for favorable opportunities. When Thailand extended its "invitation," China grabbed it as though it were grabbing for gold. Diplomatic relations between Thailand and China were established on 1 July 1975. These relations were quickly "tightened." Top officials of the two countries made frequent visits to each other's country. China supplied Thailand with 130 millimeter artillery, tanks and many other weapons in

military aid and has made promises to "maintain security" for Thailand. Officials of the Thai administration consider this to be a major diplomatic victory. However, more than a few alert Thai, particularly within intellectual circles, see the danger posed by these relations. The Thai Doctor of Political Science Chulacheep Chuananno has said: "It is not wise to be pro-China." China, as has long been its tradition, considers its smaller, weaker neighbors to the south to be dependent entities. It looks for every way and every opportunity to exert its influence, to infiltrate, control and eventually annex these countries. Therefore, in the relations between China and Thailand, which are currently considered to be close, there is a potential danger to the security and sovereignty of Thailand. These relations have already brought heavy pressure to bear upon Thailand in its domestic and foreign policies. One Thai scholar has observed: "Thailand has unintentionally allowed itself to be controlled and told what to do by the policy of China."

By establishing close ties to China, Thailand has increasingly become an effective tool used by China against the countries of Indochina. Under pressure from China, Thailand has made intensive efforts to fabricate charges against and falsely accuse Vietnam, to pick a fight with and harass Laos, to undermine the rebirth of Cambodia. Even though Thailand itself was a victim of the Pol Pot butchers and knows and detests the crimes they committed, because it has joined sides with China, Thailand is now giving refuge to the remnants of Pol Pot's forces and helping them to kill Cambodians. Thailand receives weapons being transported by China through Thai territory and turns them over to the Cambodian reactionaries. In 1981, Thailand gave China permission to use many airfields in eastern Thailand. Thailand is cooperating with China in the manufacture of light weapons on Thai soil so that they can be quickly supplied to the Cambodian reactionaries. Going even farther, Thailand has conducted military operations against the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Their objective being to stabilize Southeast Asia, the Indochina countries as well as many countries within the ASEAN bloc have made many proposals that conform with both reason and sentiment aimed at settling the Cambodia issue but all these proposals have been rejected by China and, consequently, rejected by Thailand as well. Thailand's foreign policy is so extensively controlled by China that Thailand's views and conduct frequently cause concern on the part of some ASEAN countries --Thailand's close allies.

During the past several years, to carry out their plan to turn the Asia-Pacific region into a region of military and political confrontation with the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and national liberation forces, the United States has taken steps to increase its strength in this region. Once again, Thailand has shown itself anxious to serve U.S. interests. Since 1982, Thailand and the United States have conducted many joint military exercises. The United States has agreed to supply to Thailand many types of modern weapons, including F-16's. Deserving of attention is the fact that Thailand has agreed to allow the United States to set up strategic weapon arsenals on Thai soil. This could very likely lead to the reopening of U.S. military bases in Thailand because, according to U.S. regulations, the United States only establishes arsenals in those countries in which it has military bases.

By supplying military aid to Thailand, the United States and China have tied Thailand ever more tightly to their bellicose and reactionary policies and made Thailand a hostage, made Thailand a country that serves their interests. It is not difficult to see what the purpose of the United States is in granting aid to Thailand. For example, in 1984, of the 2.340 billion baht (94 million dollars) in aid supplied by the United States to Thailand, only 110 million baht was economic aid. All the rest was military aid. In recent years, the situation has remained the same. Almost all aid has been military aid. Economic aid has been nothing more than symbolic. Were the United States truly interested in the prosperity, stability and strength of Thailand, it would have to provide Thailand with much more economic assistance than military assistance. Moreover, in its army education and training aid plan, the United States frankly acknowledges that constant efforts will be made to change the thinking of Thai Army officers and politicians to bring it in line with American thinking, with the American way of life.

As a result of closely tying itself to the United States and China, Thailand, which is under the control of powerful capitalists, large landowners and reactionary right wing extremists, has continuously increased its national defense expenditures in order to buy many types of modern weapons. Thailand's NEW SIAM REVIEW lamented: "The major portion of the state budget allocated for the development of the country is being spent on the military and, in the final analysis, this becomes a tactic by which the United States plunders the resources of this region." In its relations with the United States and China, Thailand also wants to use the strength of the United States and China to "intimidate" neighboring countries and achieve its own expansionist designs, which include encroaching upon and occupying territory of Laos and Cambodia. But it is Thailand that is being used by the United States and China, especially to obstruct the rebirth of Cambodia and create tensions and instability within the region.

By following the lead of the United States and China, Thai authorities are not only going against the interests of the nations within the region, but also against the interests of the Thai people themselves. By maintaining close ties to the United States and China, Thailand has not made the country's political situation more stable, has not strengthened its security, has not improved its economy or society...but actually made every aspect of the situation worse with each passing day.

The political situation in Thailand is always unstable. The Thai weekly newspaper MISCELLANY (in its 9 July 1985 issue) evaluated Thailand's political and economic situation as follows: "The power structure on the upper level is in a state of complete disarray, democracy is not truly based on the power of the people and the economy is dependent upon foreign interests and the multinational corporations." The New York consulting firm of Frost and Sullivan ranks Thailand eighth on its list of countries that it considers the most politically unstable in the world. In Thailand, factions are always fighting one another for power. Military coup d'etats are a continuous occurrence. Before news of one subsides, news of another is reported. Since 1932, that is, when Thailand shifted from the autocratic monarchy to its present constitutional monarchy, there have been 15 coup d'etats in Thailand, the latest occurring on 9 September 1985. Also during those 54 years, civilians

were in power for only 11 years. On the surface, it appears as though the Thai Army exerts strong control over the political situation and system. The persons who have succeeded one another as prime minister of Thailand have been generals. However, according to former Thai Prime Minister Kukrit Pramot, real power is held by the millionaires--"the millionaires have more power than the government." Following the 9 September 1985 coup d'etat, many Thai became increasingly concerned over the country's political situation, a concern which grew even larger when the government of Prime Minister Prem became seriously divided and Prem was forced, on 1 May 1986, to declare the dissolution of the National Assembly, a full 1 year before the scheduled end of its term.

Thailand's economy, which was once considered prosperous and had achieved a high rate of growth, is now in a state of recession and decline. Assistant U.S. Secretary of State Oan-pho-uyt-do [Vietnamese phonetics] acknowledged in a report to the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives: "Thailand is experiencing a decline in its exports and has assumed an increasingly heavy debt burden." In fact, Thailand's debt to foreign countries has risen to 15 billion dollars. The United States has been very "generous" in supporting Thailand militarily. However, it has not given away any economic interests. Thailand's export market in the United States is shrinking. The United States wants to reduce the purchase of textiles from Thailand, thereby facing Thailand's export industry, a sector which employs as many as 600,000 workers (one-third of Thailand's total industrial workforce) with formidable difficulties. Rice, Thailand's number one export, faces stiff competition from the United States. In the next 3 years, the United States will spend roughly 15 billion dollars to promote the sale of U.S. agricultural products overseas. This will cause Thailand to suffer heavy losses. Thailand also faces sharp competition from China in the exportation of rice, textiles and handicraft products.

Thailand's economy is becoming increasingly dependent upon foreign countries and controlled by the monetary and trade policies of foreign creditor countries. In economic activities, freedom to commit fraud and force one another out of business have been maintained. Therefore, economic power rests with the group of monopolistic capitalists, which has caused mass bankruptcies among medium and small-scale capitalists. Hundreds of enterprises and corporations are insolvent, hundreds of thousands of workers have been fired and the majority of the people find it difficult to make ends meet. Thailand's weekly newspaper SPECIAL NEWS (in its 17 to 23 February 1986 issues) admitted: "The majority of the Thai are becoming poor."

In the case of farmers, who make up 75 percent of Thailand's population, the standard of living has been improved even more slowly. Prime Minister Prem, in a "Letter to the People," also admitted: "Only a small percentage of farmers has benefitted from Thailand's development during the past 20 years. This is the case of farm owners who live in regions where there are many sources of water. The remaining farmers have benefitted only very slightly or not at all... According to statistics, more than 10 million farmers are living below the poverty level." At present, due to low rice prices, even the farm owners who have "benefitted from development" find themselves in a difficult situation. This was why, on 6 January 1986, some 2,000 farm owners from the Northeast demonstrated in the capital Bangkok.

In Thailand today, the gap between the rich and the poor is very wide. In the factories and enterprises of Thailand, accidents on the job occur continuously because employers are only interested in profits not labor safety. The labor of the poor, especially children, is severely exploited. At a time when nearly 5 million persons are unemployed in Thailand, 60,000 of whom have a college or middle school education, the enterprises there are using very much child labor between the ages of 12 and 14. In Bangkok alone, there are nearly 5,000 enterprises employing child labor. Why is this? It is because child labor is cheaper than adult labor. By using child labor, employers become rich quicker. Even worse, children in Thailand have been turned into "live products" (in the most sinister meaning of the term). According to the Hong Kong press, Thailand is one of very few countries that still sell children. On the black market in Bangkok, anywhere from 200 to 500 children below the age of 15 are put on sale each day, each at a price of 100 to 250 dollars. And, as an added stroke of irony, although Thailand has become one of the leading exporters of rice in the world, nearly 50 percent of this country's children are starving or malnourished.

In Thailand, the American way of life is encouraged and social ills have been steadily on the rise. Prostitution has become a very profitable "trade." Thousands of brothel owners have joined together to protect and develop this "trade." In Bangkok alone, there are more than 300,000 prostitutes. Drug addiction is also a serious problem in Thailand's social life. At present, there are more than 600,000 drug addicts in Thailand, and this number is rising at the average rate of 5,500 persons per year. Some 60 percent of drug addicts are youths between the ages of 16 and 24. The number of criminals in Thailand is soaring. Murders and robberies take place everywhere, threatening not only the lives of Thai citizens, but also the lives of foreign tourists. In Thailand, fleecing foreign tourists has become a lucrative business. The remnant forces of Pol Pot hiding in Thailand have been actively participating in murders and robberies, thus making the situation even more serious. World opinion is concerned and frightened by the many barbarous crimes that have been and are being committed by Thai pirates against merchant and passenger ships of foreign countries as they pass by Thai territory.

Thai authorities are doing everything possible to hide and conceal the country's serious economic and social difficulties and making every effort to paint a picture of a "Thailand of stability, prosperity, tranquility and beauty." However, loyal Thai citizens of conscience who want their country to be beautiful once again are concerned about this situation day and night. Through words and actions, they are bringing to light all the difficulties in everyday life and social ills. They are denouncing and demanding that the government take steps to protect the interests of the people. More than a few Thai journalists have made important contributions in exposing and denouncing the corrupt practices, the deceitful tricks, the arbitrariness and the commercial dealings of administration officials as well as their complicity with and protection of criminals. However, these actions taken by journalists in the interest of the truth have been met with brutal suppression and terrorism by the administration and those who have caused these ills. Between April 1982 and the end of 1984 65 Thai journalists were murdered. In many of these cases, the perpetrators were protected by Thai officials.

Such is Thailand's political situation, its economic situation and the state of Thai society today. But the authorities of Thailand have intentionally closed their eyes to the truth of the country's situation and are collaborating ever more closely with the United States and China, are supporting the bellicose and reactionary policies of their foreign bosses. Clearly, if they continue to follow the United States and China, Thai authorities will bring to their country nothing but a bleak future fraught with difficulties and crime.

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## U.S. TERRORISM AND SO CALLED "REGIONAL CONFLICTS"

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 86 pp 102-106

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] Terrorism and so called "regional conflicts" are two aspects of U.S. foreign policy, mainly as it applies to Asia, Africa and Latin America. It can also be said that the Reagan administration is pursuing a policy of true terrorism--a policy of using military power--in the case of the developing countries. This is a salient characteristic of the world situation today.

Beginning in late March 1986, in the space of only 3 weeks, the Reagan administration arrogantly launched two attacks on Libya, the second more serious than the first. Washington is threatening and truly preparing to commit aggression against Libya once again. Regardless of whether the United States does attack Libya again, its recent aggression against Libya poses a grave danger. The entire world is indignantly denouncing the U.S. policy of international terrorism.

The struggle for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace by the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a very intense struggle. In view of their natural resources, labor and markets, these former colonial regions are of strategic importance to imperialism. Therefore, the consistent policy of many generations of imperialist administrations, the thread that runs throughout these administrations, is to oppose, suppress and extinguish uprisings by these nations. Imperialism has an even deeper hatred of those countries that select the revolutionary, progressive, socialist path, the path of being completely against colonialism and imperialism. According to Western researchers, every war since World War II, with the exception of the 1947 civil war in Greece, has broken out in a former colonial region. All were started by Western imperialist powers, mainly the United States.

At a time when the United States and other imperialists are making every effort to suppress national liberation movements and opposing countries that have achieved national independence, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are doing everything possible to support national liberation movements and countries who possess national independence. The historic struggle between socialism and imperialism is a bitter struggle in the regions of the developing countries. This situation became even more clearly defined

when the current balance of strategic military forces was established between the two systems.

Socialism does not export revolution. Where a revolution breaks out is determined by conditions. This is a fact. However, when the revolution of a country is threatened, persons of conscience cannot sit and watch. They cannot allow imperialism to do as it pleases, to use violent force to wipe away the revolutionary gains made by nations. Since World War II, more than 100 countries have thrown off the yoke of colonial rule, many of which have advanced to build new social systems. This situation has angered the U.S. imperialists, the international gendarmes, particularly the Reagan administration, to their very marrow. For this reason, the Reagan administration considers the regions of the developing countries to be important factors in its foreign policy strategy, especially the Middle East, Central America, South Asia-the Pacific and Africa. The Reagan administration is insanely opposed to each revolutionary and progressive trend in all regions. Reagan also views the situations in other regions from the perspective of East-West relations, consequently, he has insolently labeled the Soviet Union as the source of all trouble in the various regions of the world. By accusing others of being what it itself is, the Reagan administration has found a reason to look for ways to extinguish "regional conflicts," the essence of which is to crush revolutionary movements in the Third World. Reagan has placed the issue of "regional conflicts" on the negotiating table with the Soviet Union. Reagan has demanded that the Soviet Union stop supporting revolutionary movements in the different regions of the world. Only then will the United States discuss the issue of reducing the arms race. This stand of the United States is the pinnacle of hypocrisy. The United States has attached equal importance to two issues that are totally different in terms of their origin and nature and demands that they be settled in completely different ways.

The illogical nature of this demand having been made clear, the United States has intensified its policy of military adventurism. Washington's main objective is to force socialism from the developing countries. These regions must, above everything else, be reserved exclusively for imperialism or, failing this, at least be dependent upon imperialism through hegemony or any other philosophy, provided that this philosophy has nothing to do with socialism.

The U.S. presidents who preceded Reagan had their own foreign policy doctrines. Reagan, because he has been busy dealing with the domestic socio-economic situation, has yet to formulate a foreign policy doctrine that bears his name. He has had to rely upon the innovations made by his predecessors. Oddly enough, those who prescribed the policy of military terror against these regions are headed current Secretary of State Shultz. He has stated that "we are prepared to use military force" to protect U.S. interests in these regions. In April 1984, the office of the President issued Order Number 134 permitting the implementation of a policy of terror and violent force in the name of "using military power" to combat so called "terrorism."

The Reagan group's strategy of using military force against the developing

countries is calculated to be applied in the following cases: first, in the case of "non-communist" countries in which there is a revolutionary movement, the United States will help the administration to resolutely crush this movement. Secondly, in the case of countries that are "non-communist" but are also steadfastly anti-imperialist, the United States will use its military power to intervene. Thirdly, in the case of "communist" countries against which there is opposition from counter-revolutionary forces, the United States will directly assist these forces in resisting the revolution to the end. Fourthly, in the case of any "communist" country which the United States maintains lies within the scope of its vital interests, the United States will surround this country, exert pressure and even directly attack it.

The United States has also urged lackey countries to provoke and attack neighboring countries that do not support the United States or uses these lackey countries as the rear bases of counter-revolutionary powers.

The Reagan group has arrogantly proclaimed that it is determined to "take the offensive" against progressive regimes instead of acknowledging "communist domination" in these regions. Although this bellicose argument does not deceive many people, it has awakened a chauvinist attitude among some U.S. conservatives, particularly representatives of the interests of the U.S. military-industrial complex. This explains the recent votes in the U.S. Congress, particularly in the Senate, supporting the President's request for aid for counter-revolutionary powers in these regions. Washington plans to pursue this adventurous military policy for at least "one generation." They say that national democratic revolutions and the wave of anti-imperialist sentiment in the regions of the Third World are "the real threats with which we (the United States) will have to deal the most in the years ahead."

Revolutionary forces never consider counter-attacks by imperialist powers that are losing the historic initiative to be something frightening, something with which they cannot deal. However, we do not take the resurgence of revanchist powers in the United States lightly. The current shift by the United States to a policy of armed force poses a long-term danger. Moreover, the U.S. imperialists attacked Libya not just to threaten Libya and the Third World. This event must be viewed against a broader background. America had a very cunning purpose in selecting Libya as a target for an armed counter-attack. Libya is an independent, sovereign and non-communist country but loves freedom and social progress and is determined to oppose imperialism. This stand taken by Libya has widespread support in the world. By attacking Libya, the United States insolently challenged all revolutionary forces in the world, challenged the Soviet Union and socialism. The rumble of the bombs in the capital Tripoli signalled a new step tantamount to military adventurism in the incredible ambitions of the U.S. imperialists. They seek to regain what they have lost in the Third World since World War II, particularly since the 1970's, when the United States was mired in the rice paddies of Vietnam. They want to reverse the decline of U.S. imperialism. They want to impede the process of the national democratic revolution. They want to stop socialism's momentum of victory. They want to abolish communism. By attacking Libya and advancing the so called "regional issue," the United States sought to attack the Soviet Union and socialist forces. Their plan is to counter-attack the Soviet Union's strategy for development and peace. By conducting brazen acts

of terrorism against Libya, the Reagan administration is creating new tensions, new hotspots and has put international relations and East-West relations into their worst state since November 1985. They want to impede the great strides that will be taken by the Soviet Union for the sake of a future of peace for the Soviet Union and all mankind following the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The new anti-communist crusade of the Reagan group is indeed posing obstacles to the advance of the revolution in some countries. The bitter class struggle between the two world social systems is not purely a struggle that is taking place on the ideological front, but is also an armed, bloody struggle to some extent. We revolutionaries must recognize the enemy's perfidious schemes and tactics and correctly analyze the comparison of forces at each place and time as well as from an overall perspective so that we can adopt correct strategies and tactics and defeat them.

The ambitions of the United States are very large. However, the weaknesses of the United States are even larger. Reagan and his clique thought that killing President Qadhafi on the spot would send to both the opposition and allies a message of the victory of their hard line policy. But things are not that simple. The gangster-style attack on Libya once again revealed the deep and inherent antagonisms of the U.S. imperialists.

First, one very large effort of the Reagan administration is to restore unity at home, overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and restore the will, strength and confidence of the American people. However, the Libyan incident has deeply divided the United States and caused a split between the United States and its allies. In U.S. political circles, there are sharply different points of view concerning the limits of military power. The blind and reckless use of military power did not bring glory to the United States in the Vietnam war. Today, the situation is very much different. In the Vietnam war, because the United States concealed what was going on, it was punished slowly, even though it ultimately met defeat. Today, opinion has been awakened and is very sensitive and alert. Every arrogant action of the United States is quickly exposed and opposed.

The situation in Vietnam proved that the power of the United States, although large, does have its limits. Although the Reagan administration seeks to overcome the Vietnam syndrome, it has plunged headlong down the very same path that thwarted the efforts of five preceding U.S. presidents. There is no guarantee that Reagan will be victorious in pursuing the course that led to the defeat of his five predecessors. Very many Americans and friends of the United States do not want a repeat of Vietnam.

Secondly, the Reagan administration is supplying money and arms to various counter-revolutionary groups in the world to wage so called "guerrilla wars against communist dictators." But who, it can be asked, are the "freedom fighters" conducting these guerrilla activities? They are bandits. They are the Afghanistan bandits, the Khmer reactionaries, the UNITA bandits, the Ethiopian counter-revolutionaries, the Mozambique traitors, the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary exiles... There is not one place of progress, revolution, independence and freedom into which Washington has not thrust its

bloody interventionist hands. The reactionary powers supported by the United States are nothing more than mobs whose sole purpose is to plunder. They are against the people, against the revolution and against legitimate governments. They never have a base of support among the people. To the contrary, the people hold them in contempt. Their "guerrilla" wars involve nothing more than acts of plunder and looting, acts designed to create disorder and are totally unjust. These forces are highly isolated in the world. Clearly, the efforts of the United States to breathe life into these forces, be it in Asia, Africa or Latin America, are a cause without a future.

Thirdly, by attacking Libya, attacking the Third World on the pretext of fighting terrorism, the U.S. imperialists have shown themselves to be the leading international terrorist, to be the worst terrorist state. The Reagan administration has assumed the right to call any country or any group that opposes it a "terrorist." Reagan's logic is this: whatever I do not like, I call terrorism. How perverse it is when the leading terrorist, when the most insane terrorist state raises the "anti-terrorism" banner!?

The situation is truly ridiculous to a degree unprecedented: at a time when the U.S. government is calling for a fight against terrorism in other countries, terrorism is spreading the fastest in the United States itself. In the message he delivered in early 1985, Reagan admitted that "our United States is spreading the scourge of terrorism." In the United States today, there are more than 2,000 terrorist organizations. They are called by many different names. In the 10 years that ended in 1983, some 440,000 persons were killed and 1.7 million persons were injured by these terrorist organizations. These figures exceed the number of U.S. casualties in World War II.. Compared to any act of terrorism blamed by Reagan on others, terrorism in the United States is far worse in every respect. It is difficult to find another country on earth in which terrorism is so bad. Until the United States abolishes social injustice and the divisions between the rich and the poor, until it puts a stop to the support, toleration, assistance and collaboration of capitalist groups and police agencies with terrorist organizations, the United States cannot rid itself of terrorism at home.

The terrorist organizations in the United States are nothing more than gangs of hoodlums who rob from others. But the Reagan administration is a "terrorist state" that threatens the security of independent and sovereign countries and threatens the survival of all nations.

Fourthly, the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union possess the strength to mobilize and awaken billions of persons. Mankind is becoming increasingly aware of the danger, of the scourge of nuclear war. This demands that man's thinking on war and the use of military power change. Everyone who loves peace and is a person of conscience is demanding that the policy makers of imperialism disassociate themselves completely and resolutely from the way of thinking and acting that has formed over the past several centuries on the basis of tolerating wars and armed conflicts. In light of this, the shift by the United States to using military power and practicing international terrorism is an outmoded and misguided action that goes against the tide of events and leads nowhere.

National independence, democracy, social progress and peace are irreversible trends.

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